

A N
E S S A Y
TOWARDS ATTAINING A
TRUE IDEA
OF THE
CHARACTER and REIGN
O F
K. CHARLES the First,
And the CAUSES of the
CIVIL WAR, &c.

[Price Two Shillings.]

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OF THE
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OF
K. CHARLES the First,
And the CAUSES of the
CIVIL WAR.

Extracted from, and delivered in the *very*
Words of some of the most authentic and cele-
brated HISTORIANS, viz. Clarendon, White-
lock, Burnet, Coke, Echard, Rapin, Tindal,
Neal, &c.

L O N D O N:

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MDCCXLVIII.

ESTABLISHED

THE

CHARACTER OF THE

CHARACTER OF THE

CIVIL WAR.

I venture to say that the
war of 1861-1865 was the
most important event in the
history of the United States
since the Revolution.

It was a war of principles.

It was a war of the future.

It was a war of the present.

It was a war of the past.

It was a war of the future.

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P R E F A C E.

THERE is no Part of the *English* History, probably, which hath been so greatly misrepresented, or which is generally at present so little understood, as the Reign of the *unhappy* PRINCE of which the following Papers treat.

I shall not here enquire into the Cause of this Ignorance, nor observe the hurtful Effect it has had upon Society : how much it hath been abused to corrupt the Principles of the People ; to inflame and pervert their Passions ; and to perpetuate Animosities which every good *Briton* wishes to see eternally extinguish'd and forgot. Nor shall I make any Apology for Publishing this Collection, tho' it may seem in some Places to bear hard upon a *Royal Character* to which much Incense has been offer'd up. Whatever Sacredness there may be in such exalted Characters, the *Truth of History* is more Sacred : a Reverence for this only, hath produced the following *Essay* ; which is undertaken with a sincere Desire of informing my Fellow-Subjects as

P R E F A C E.

to the Transactions of a Reign which hath generally, not in private only, but in the most publick and Sacred Places, been represented to the People in extremely fallacious Colours. Too great Complaisance to the Errors of the past Age, may be Cruelty to the present ; one principal Use of History is to point out the Misconducts and Follies of former Times, to serve as Warnings and Instructions to those who come after.

It was a Saying worthy that Glory of the *Stuart* Family, and indeed of the *British* Nation, Queen *Mary II*, when Reflections were made in her Presence upon the Sharpness of some Historians, who had left heavy Imputations upon the Memory of some Princes, her Majesty replied ——— “ If those
 “ Princes were truly such as the Historians
 “ represented them, they had well deserved that Treatment ; and others who
 “ tread their Steps must look for the same :
 “ For *Truth* would be told at last, and that
 “ with the more Acrimony of Stile, for being so long restrained. It was a gentle
 “ Suffering to be exposed to the World in
 “ their true Colours, much below what others had suffer'd at their Hands.”

The Method here taken will be thought, tis presumed, the most likely to come at the Knowledge of the Truth ; which is to call, as it were, a Council of the most celebrated
 Historians

P R E F A C E.

vii

Historians and Writers of those Times, and to give the Reader the Satisfaction of hearing them stand forth and each in *his own Words* pronouncing upon the Case. That he may be able to judge of the *Weight* of their several Testimonies, and what Credit they deserve, I shall give a succinct Account of some of the Chief.

LORD CLARENDON was King Charles I's most intimate Counsellor, Favourite and Friend; who himself says "*that* Hist. Reb. Vol. IV. p. 627.
 " *he first undertook the Writing his History with the KING's Approbation, and*
 " *by his Encouragement, and FOR HIS*
 " *VINDICATION—That the KING*
 " *thank'd him for it; sent him his own Memorials, or those which by his Command had* Vol. V. p. 70.
 " *been kept, and were perused and corrected*
 " *by himself; out of which Memorials a considerable Part of his Lordship's Accounts*
 " *are collected.*" This then being the profess'd Design, and these the Sources of his History, his Lordship, to be sure, sets the Actions of the King and the Errors of his Government in the most favourable Light, and puts the softest Constructions they could reasonably bear. When we are reading *Clarendon's* Accounts then, we are to remember they are the Accounts of a *zealous Advocate* for the *Royal Cause*; and yet from these we see enough to consider the Reign of this un-
 A 4 happy

P R E F A C E.

happy Prince as a most grievous Tyranny and Oppression.

But this *celebrated History* lies under strong Suspicion, if not evident Proof, of being further softened and garbled in Favour of *that Cause*, by many gross Interpolations and Alterations of the *Editors*. One of them, the learned Mr. *Smith* of *Christ-Church Oxon*, acknowledged upon his Death-Bed that himself had been concerned in it——“ *There* “ *was* (said he, and they were some of his “ last Words, of whose Truth there can be “ no Doubt) a fine History written by Lord “ *Clarendon*, but what was published under “ his Name was only *Patch-work*, and “ might as properly be called the History “ of ——— and ——— and ——— for to his “ Knowledge it was altered; nay that He “ Himself was employed by them to inter- “ polate and alter the Original.” And as the *original MANUSCRIPT* hath never been produced to remove these Suspicions, but is kept under a Veil of impenetrable Secrecy, there remains little Room to doubt of some unfair and dishonourable Dealing in the Case.

Pref. to Hist.
Stuart, p. 8, 9.

WHITELOCK was a Person of great Figure in those Days, Son of Judge *Whitelock*; a Commissioner of the Great-Seal, Ambassador to the Court of *Sweden*, a Member of the long Parliament, one of the Commissioners

P R E F A C E.

ix

missioners both at the *Oxford* and *Uxbridge* Treaties, a Man of great Knowledge as well as Temper and Moderation, and of chief Influence in some of the principal Transactions of those Times. Lord Clarendon says of him, “ That he had no Inclinations to the
 “ Persons or Principles of the chief Actors *Hist. Reb. Vol.*
 “ against the King, and professed his Detesta- *IV. p. 598.*
 “ tion of all the Proceedings of that Party;
 “ though he could not be persuaded to separate
 “ himself from them, because all his Estate lay
 “ in their Quarters, and he had a Nature
 “ that could not bear, or submit to be undone.”
 He wrote a Memorial, a kind of Journal of the particular Occurrences of this Reign; which is deservedly esteemed by all one of the most authentic and faithful Accounts. And having no Inclination either to the Persons or Principles of those who opposed the KING, we may depend upon his Accounts as not Partial towards them.

C O K E was an active Partizan and Apologist for the King: whose Father (Sir Edward Coke) bore a great Share in the Transactions of this Reign, was a Member of the long Parliament, was sequester'd and imprison'd by them for not owning their Power and paying their Taxes; and who himself was an hearty Favourer of the Royal Cause and a Sufferer for it. He wrote a *Detection of the Court and State of ENGLAND, &c.*

BISHOP

P R E F A C E.

BISHOP BURNET was a most faithful Friend and bright Ornament of the establish'd Church; who contributed as much perhaps, as any Subject ever did to its Preservation and Support; whose Name therefore will be ever precious to every genuine Son of it. He was admitted into great Intimacy, for a long Course of Years, with many of the prime Managers of those Times; and had singular Opportunities of penetrating far into their secret Counsels and Designs. He wrote an *History of his own Time*: and, with an Appeal to the *G O D of Truth*, professes to tell the Truth as fully and freely as he was able to find it out.

ARCHDEACON ECHARD, another Historian often quoted in the ensuing Tract, is a florid and prolix Writer, not celebrated for his Impartiality; a Dignitary of the Church, very warmly attach'd to it; a passionate Admirer and most zealous Advocate of the King.

RAPIN, was a foreign Gentleman, a Protestant of *France*, who having ^{no} immediate Connection with any of our Parties was the better qualified to sustain the Character of an *impartial* U M P I R E betwixt them. After long Study and Application he wrote an *History of E N G L A N D* justly held in high Esteem both by Natives and Foreigners. He professes a profound Respect for the
Church

P R E F A C E.

xi

Church of *England*, and communicated with it when resident here.

TINDAL, his Continuator, is a worthy *Clergyman*, who at present does Honour to the Church: his History is wrote with a good Degree of Judgment, Perspicuity and Impartiality, and will transmit his Name with Praise to distant Posterity.

The *History of ENGLAND under the Royal House of STUART* I consider as a good Collection of Facts; and of great Use to correct the Errors and supply the Defects of other Historians, particularly *Clarendon's* and *Echard's*: though the Author's Zeal for the *CONSTITUTION* and against the Invaders of it, may seem, perhaps, to break forth into too frequent and warm Sallies. He was a Member of the establish'd Church, and an hearty Wellwisher to it. As was *WELLWOOD* also, a very learned and ingenious Physician, whose *Memoirs* are here quoted.

NEAL, *BENNET* and *PIERCE* were Divines of the *Sepàration*, Men of acknowledged Merit, and of good Learning and Reputation. 'Tis only of the first of these, that any considerable Use is made in the ensuing Papers: whose *History of the PURITANS* has been received with great Esteem by the curious and ingenious of all Denominations.

Having

P R E F A C E.

Having given this short Account of the *Historians* here summoned to assist our Enquiries after a *true Idea of the Character and Reign of King CHARLES I.* the Reader is now left impartially to consider the Evidence they give, and then to judge, as his own Discernment shall direct, upon the Point.

THE

THE
CONTENTS.

CHAP. I.

KING Charles's Birth, natural Temper,
Principles in which educated, Marriage
and Character of his Queen. pag. 1

CHAP. II.

He helps his Brother, Lewis XIII, to root out
and destroy the brave Protestants of France.
pag. 6

CHAP. III.

He designs to overthrow the Constitution, and to
render himself absolute. pag. 10

CHAP. IV.

The Confusions and civil War proceeded not
from any religious Sect or Party amongst
the People: but solely from the Oppressions
and Tyranny of the Court. pag. 13

CHAP.

The CONTENTS.

C H A P. V.

The King's illegal Ways of Raising Money.
pag. 21

C H A P. VI.

*The King's flagrant Invasions of the Privilege
and Rights of Parliament: and Violences
committed on it.* pag. 36

C H A P. VII.

*Other arbitrary and oppressive Measures: which
were Invasions of the Nation's Rights, and
subversive of the Constitution,* pag. 47

C H A P. VIII.

*The King weak in religious Matters, and much
inclin'd to Superstition.* pag. 52

C H A P. IX.

*He manifestly labours a Coalition with the Church
of Rome, and strongly favours Popery.*
pag. 58

C H A P. X.

*Persecutions and Severities in the Reign of this
Prince: particularly against the English Non-
conformists and Puritan Clergy.* pag. 73

C H A P. XI.

*His oppressive and injurious Treatment of the
Scots.* pag. 88

C H A P.

The CONTENTS.

XV

CHAP. XII.

The King's ambiguous and evasive Conduct, and Breaches of solemn Promises.

pag. 93

CHAP. XIII.

Of his Majesty's magnified Piety and Concern for real Religion.

pag. 102.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Rebellion and Miseries of IRELAND: And how far the KING is supposed to have had any culpable Hand in them?

pag. 108

CHAP. XV.

Who began the War, the King or the Parliament? And Whether it can, without the greatest Impropriety and Injustice, be stiled a Rebellion?

pag. 128

CHAP. XVI.

Who were chargeable with Killing the KING?

pag. 132

CHAP. XVII.

The Book EIKON BASILIKE was not the Composure of King CHARLES.

pag. 141

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

*A Summary View of King CHARLES's
Character and Reign by a very great States-
man.* pag. 145

CHAP. XIX.

*The Principles on which the REVOLU-
TION was effected, and upon which a-
lone our excellent Constitution of a limited
Monarchy stands.* pag. 153

AN
 ESSAY
 TOWARDS A
 TRUE IDEA
 OF THE
 CHARACTER and REIGN
 OF
 KING CHARLES I.

CHAP. I.

His Birth, natural Temper, Principles in which educated, Marriage, and Character of his Queen.

“KING CHARLES I. was born at Neal, Vol. II.
 “Dumferling in Scotland, Anno 1600, and pag. 153.
 “baptised by a Presbyterian Minister of
 “that Country. In his Youth he was of a weakly
 “Constitution and stammering Speech, his Legs
 “somewhat crooked;” — “He was subject, says Echard, pag.
 “Archdeacon Echard, to several Infirmities, ac- 417.
 “compained with an apparent Obstinacy in his
 B “Tem-

- Hist. Stu.* p. 15. "Temper, and was suspected to be somewhat perverse in his Nature.—The Nurfses and Gentlemen who attended him could very rarely devise how to please him; of which his Mother Queen *Anne* would often complain, calling him her perverse and obstinate Son."
- Burnet's Hist. Tim. Vol. I.* pag. 18. "His Temper was fullen, saies Bishop *Burnet*, even to a Moroseness. This led him to a grave and reserved Deportment, in which he forgot the Civilities and the Affability which the Nation naturally loved. Nor did he in his outward Behaviour take any Pains to oblige any Persons whatsoever. So far from that, He had such an ungracious Way of shewing Favour, that the Manner of bestowing it was almost as mortifying as the Favour was obliging."
- Rapin, Vol. XI.* pag. 90. "Charles I. was naturally, saies *Rapin*, of an inflexible Temper, and this Quality added to his Maxims of Government, was the Cause that he could hardly bear to see whatever tended to put a Constraint upon his Will." — His Courtiers, saies the famous Sir *Edward Coke*, "would often say, *they prayed to GOD, that the Prince might be in the right Way where he set, for if he were in the wrong, he would prove the most wilful of any King that ever reigned.*" — "He was too easily inclined to suddain Enterprises, Lord *Clarendon* acknowledges, and as easily startled when they were entered upon."
- Coke Det.* p. 5. He was however "chaste and temperate beyond Exception; clear from all known and personal Vices of the sensual Kind, and uninfected with those licentious Excesses, which are not only incident to that Age and Fortune, but in such Cases almost thought excusable."
- Clarend. Vol. II.* p. 344. He was educated in very high and extravagant Notions of the Divinity and Extent of the Regal Power—"That Monarchy and lineal Succession
- " are

are of divine Institution, and consequently sacred
and inviolable. That the Persons as well as the
Authority of Kings are ordained by GOD.
That the King is the sole Fountain of Power.
That all the Liberties and Privileges of the People
are but so many Concessions or Extortions
from the Crown. That the King is not bound
to his People by his *Coronation-Oath*; but only
before GOD, to whom alone he is accountable.
That the King's Violations of the Laws are not
to be restrained by Force: but Subjects ought
either actively to obey his Commands, or passively
submit to his Will; and have no other
Refuge left under the most cruel Tyranny but
Prayers and Tears.

Tindal's *Cont.*
Introd. p. i.

With these Principles he came to the Throne in
the 25th Year of his Age. At the very Time when
he was attending the Solemnities of his Father's
Funeral at *Westminster*, those of his own Marriage
were celebrating at *Paris*, to *Henrietta Maria*, Sister
to *Lewis XIII.* of *France*.

The Queen was an agreeable and beautiful
Lady, and by Degrees (says Lord *Clarendon*),
obtained a Plenitude of Power over the King.
His Majesty had her in perfect Adoration, and
would do nothing without her; but was inexorable
to every Thing he promised her.—
Her Power over him was absolute—She was
Queen, not so much of the Nation, as of the
King himself; and had the *sole*, rather than
the *chief* Ascendant, in the Government (a).—
She loved all her Life long to be in Intrigues of
all Sorts, but was not so secret in them as such
Times and such Affairs required. She was a

Neal, *Vol. II.*
pag. 154.

Clarend. Hist.
Vol. I. p. 167.
Vol. III. pag.
328.
Nuncio's
Mem. p. 854.

B 2

“ Woman

(a) *Regi adeo fuit cara Regina, ut non tam Regni, quam ipsius
Regis, Reginam ageret: & in Regimine plus sola, quam potior,
esse videretur.*

Burnet's Hist.
Tim. Vol. I.
pag. 31.

“ Woman of great Vivacity in Conversation, but
“ of no manner of Judgment; was bad at Con-
“ trivance, but much worse in the Execution.
“ By the Liveliness of her Discourse she made
“ always a great Impression on the King: And to
“ her little Practices, as well as to the King's own
“ Temper, the Sequel of all his Misfortunes was
“ owing.

Coke Det.
p. 171, 182.

“ The King was so devoted to her (his zealous
“ Apologist acknowledges) that he would do no-
“ thing without communicating it to her — He
“ assures her in a Letter, that he would not make
“ a Peace with the Rebels, (the Parliament) with-
“ out *her* Approbation.”

Echard pag.
419.

The first Compliment with which his Majesty received her at *Dover*, seems to have been prophetic, viz. *That he could be no longer MASTER of himself, than while he was a SERVANT to her.* This was very sadly verified in the Event. For the King ruled not his three Kingdoms in a more absolute and despotick Manner, than Himself was ruled by the Queen. His History affords abundant Proof of this: let it suffice here only to observe, That to that desperate and rash Act, his Going with an armed Force to seize and haul the *Five* Members from the House of Commons, he was entirely hurried on by the haughty Spirit of the Queen; for when his Majesty would have declined it, “ and retired with her into her Closet, “ urging many Reasons against it; she broke out “ into a Passion — *Alle Poltrons, Go COWARD, and “ pull these Rogues out by the Ears, or never see my “ Face any more.*” The obsequious Monarch went: burst into the House at the Head of his little Army, and pulls down upon his own Ears the Fabrick of our Constitution, which at last buried him in its Ruins.

Ibid. pag.
520.

Bishop Kennet therefore well observes, " That
 " the King's Match with *this Lady* was a greater
 " Judgment to the Nation than the *Plague*, which
 " then raged in the Land; for considering the
 " Malignity of the *Popish* Religion, the Imperious-
 " ness of the *French* Government; the Influence of
 " a stately Queen over an affectionate Husband;
 " the Share she must needs have in the Education
 " of her Children (till *thirteen* Years old) it was
 " then easy to foresee it might prove very fatal
 " to our *English* Prince and People, and lay in a
 " Vengeance to future Generations.

" Father Orleans, who was a Confident of King
 " James II, and whose History Archdeacon Echard
 " recommends, sais, I must in Justice to the Queen
 " declare, that SHE, being a Daughter of *France*, *Hist. Stu.*
 " was full of that Spirit which warms the Blood *pag. 107.*
 " of *absolute* Monarchs, and as such looked on
 " a *limited* Authority as no better than *Servitude*:
 " and therefore made the utmost Efforts to rescue
 " the King her Husband from under all Restriction
 " of *Laws, Oaths, &c.*"

" She was a great Bigot to her Religion. Her
 " Conscience was directed by her Confessor, assist-
 " ed by the *Pope's Nuntio*, and a secret Cabal of *Neal, Vol. II.*
 " *Priests* and *Jesuits*. These directed the Queen, *pag. 155.*
 " and She the King: so that in Effect the Nation
 " was governed by *Popish* Councils, till the long
 " Parliament."

Having thus seen an unhappy Foundation laid,
 let us go on to view the Structure which was after-
 wards built upon it.

C H A P. II.

*The KING helps his Brother, LEWIS XIII,
to root out and destroy the brave Protestants of
France.*

IN the Beginning of his Reign, when the *French Protestants* were struggling to maintain their *Liberties and Religion* against a most perfidious and cruel Oppression, King *Charles* lent the *French Monarch* a Squadron of *eight Ships* to help to crush and overwhelm them. But the *British Soldiers and Sailors*, when they came upon the Coast of *France*, and knew how they were to be employed, were filled with deep Indignation, “flew into a
 Echard, pag. 422. “Fury, got up their Anchors, and set sail for
 “*England*, declaring, *they had rather be hanged*
 “*at Home than be Slaves to the FRENCH, and fight*
 “*against the PROTESTANT Religion.*” “The Ad-
 miral *Pennington* and the *French Officers* used all
 Coke Det. p. 8. “their Rhetorick to persuade them, (offering
 “Chains of Gold, and other Rewards to all those
 “Captains, Masters and Owners who should go
 “on this Service) but they were all inflexible.
 Echard, *ibid.* “The Admiral acquainted the King; who sent
 “him an Order to *consign his own Ship immedi-*
 “*ately into the Hands of the French Admiral, with*
 “*all her Equipage, Artillery, &c. and require the*
 “*other SEVEN to put themselves into the Service of*
 Neal, Vol. II. pag. 165. “*our dear Brother the French King; and in Case*
 “*of Backwardness or Refusal, we command you to use*
 “*all forcible Means even to Sinking.*——In Pur-
 “suance of this Order the Ships were delivered
 “into the Hands of the *French*; but all the *Eng-*
 “*lish Sailors and Officers* (to their immortal Ho-
 “nour be it remembered) abandoned them, ex-
 “cept two. The *French*, having got the Ships
 “and

“ and Artillery, quickly mann’d them with Sail-
 “ ors of their own Religion; blocked up the
 “ (poor oppressed) *Rochellers*; cut off their Com-
 “ munication with their Protestant Friends; re-
 “ duced them to all the Hardships of a most
 “ dreadful Famine and Siege, and forced them to
 “ surrender this chief Bulwark of the *Protestant*
 “ Interest in *France* into the Hands of the *Papists*.”
 “ —Above 15,000 perished for want of Sus- Echard, pag.
 “ tenance, and the Remainder were so thin and 440.
 “ pale, that they rather resembled Skeletons than
 “ living Persons.” —“ They lived long upon Coke Detec.
 “ Horse-Flesh, Hides, Leather, Dogs and Cats, pag. 78.
 “ hardly leaving an Horse alive.”

“ He laid the Foundation of an unhappy Reign,
 “ not only in his Dissimulation in the Treaty of
 “ Marriage, — but much more by Engaging to Coke Detec.
 “ assist the *French* King with a Fleet against the pag. 195.
 “ *Reformed* in *France*; which he did, though the
 “ *French* broke their Faith, in denying *Mansfield*
 “ to land his Army, raised by *England* for the
 “ Recovery of the *Palatinate*, at *Calais*.

But King *Charles* shortly after, upon a private
 Pique of *Buckingham* his Favourite, “ without any Clarend. Vol.
 “ kind of Provocation Lord Clarendon owns, and I. pag. 38.
 “ upon a particular Passion very unwarrantable;”
 was violently hurried into a War with *France*: “ To Coke Det.
 “ satiate *Buckingham*’s Spite and Revenge against pag. 5. 44.
 “ *Richlieu*, for Crossing him in his Lust,” as Coke
 avers, and will by and by appear. The Pro-
 testants were allured by solemn Promises from
 his Majesty to depend upon his Support. “ He Echard, pag.
 “ solicited the Duke of *Roban* to take up Arms, 440.
 “ and wrote a Letter to the Mayor, Sheriffs, Peers, Welwood,
 “ *Burghers*, &c. of *Rochelle*, encouraging them to pag. 72.
 “ hold out to the last; for I am resolved, he sais,
 “ that all my Fleet shall perish, rather than you shall
 “ not be relieved, — be assured, I will never abandon

“ you ; and that I will employ all the Force of my
 “ Kingdom for your Deliverance, until it please God
 “ to bleſs me with Giving you an aſſured Peace.

But that which followed ill ſuited theſe fine
 Promiſes. “ The *Engliſh* Fleet under the Com-
 mand of the Earl of *Denbigh* failed to *Rochel*,
 “ and finding there ſome *French* Ships, would not
 “ aſſault them, though fewer and weaker than
 “ themſelves by many Degrees ; but after ſhewing
 “ themſelves only, they returned and left *Rochel*
 “ unrelieved.” “ Cardinal *Richlieu* who was at
 “ at the Siege in Perſon, was well informed that
 “ the Fleet would not do him any great Hurt,
 “ nor the City much Good. For what the *Depu-*
ties (ſent by the Proteſtants to ſolicit Succors at
 the *Engliſh* Court) built in the Day Time with
 “ the King ; the Queen overthrew in the Night :
 “ and kept the King her Brother from receiving
 “ any Damage.” “ The *French* were ſo alarm’d
 “ at the Invaſion of the *Engliſh* under *Buckingham*
 “ at firſt, that their King offered the Duke of
 “ *Roban* and the *Rochellers* any Terms, if they
 “ would join againſt the *Engliſh* ; which they both
 “ (bravely) reſuſing, it occaſioned both their Ru-
 “ ins.” For the ungenerous *Engliſh* Monarch
 quickly makes Peace with *France* ; in which he
 ſacrifices the poor *Rochellers*. “ Tho’ they ſent
 “ to implore his Aſſiſtance with this pathetical
 “ Expreſſion, *that what they now wrote was with*
 “ *their Tears, and with their Blood.*”

Echard, pag.
 440.

Coke Det.
 pag. 90.

“ The War againſt *France* was not more incon-
 “ ſiderately begun, than the Peace made with it
 “ was ſecret. The firſt Time it was made known
 “ was when the *French* King beſieged *Privas* ; he
 “ proclaimed the Peace with his good Brother of
 “ *England*. The *Reformed* were aſtoniſhed and
 “ confounded that the King of *England* who
 “ brought them into the War, ſhould leave them

“ out

“ out of the Peace. Hereupon *Privas* surrenders,
 “ so does *Castres* and *Nismes*: the great *Roban* is
 “ forced to submit and disband: the Power of
 “ the *Reformed*, in *France*, was thus rooted up.”

The particular *Passion*, very unwarrantable, by
 which Lord *Clarendon* sais, the King was drawn
 into the War with *France*, his Lordship and Bi-
 shop *Burnet* thus relate. “ The Duke of *Buck-*

“ *ingham* in his Embassy at that Court, where his
 “ Person and Presence was wonderfully admired,

“ had the Assurance to dedicate his most violent

“ Affection to the Queen of *France*, and to pur-

“ sue it with most importunate Addresses, and

“ had a secret Conversation with her. A Jealousy

“ of this arising, he was ordered immediately to

“ leave the Court.” In his Return to *England* un-

der this Affront, “ he swore that he would see and

“ speak with that Lady, in Spight of the Strength and

“ Power of *France*. He thenceforward omitted

“ no Opportunity to incense the King against

“ *France*, and to dispose him to assist the *Hugonots*,

“ whom he likewise encouraged to give their King

“ some Trouble. King *Charles* sent one to treat

“ with the Duke of *Roban*, their Chief, about it;

“ and promised them powerful Assistance. So a

“ War was resolved on. But the infamous Part

“ was, that *Richlieu* got the King of *France* to

“ make his Queen write an obliging Letter to the

“ Duke of *Buckingham*, assuring him, that if he

“ would let *Rochelle* fall without assisting it, he

“ should have Leave to come over, and settle the

“ whole Matter of the Religion according to their

“ Edicts. Upon this, the Duke made that shame-

“ ful Campaign of the Isle of *Rhee*. But finding

“ next Winter that he was not to be suffer'd to

“ go over to *France*, and that he was abused into

“ a false Hope, he resolved to have followed that

“ Matter with more Vigor, when he was stabbed

“ by

Clarend. Vol.

I. p. 38.

Burnet's Hist.

Vol. I. p. 51.

"by *Felton at Portsmouth.*" So that here we see the Peace of the Nation, and the Lives of thousands of *Britons*, as well as of brave Protestants in *France*, sacrificed by this weak Prince to the guilty Passion of *Buckingham* his lewd audacious Favourite.

Echard, page
440.

"From this Period of Time, Archdeacon *Ec-*
" *bard* observes, Historians justly date the entire,
" though encreasing Greatness of *France*, both as
" to her Land and Naval Powers. The great In-
" conveniencies of which gave *sufficient* Occasion
" for the Complaints of the King's Enemies at
" Home and the Protestant Sufferers Abroad.—
" His Majesty had before been told in Council,
" *that it was less prejudicial to England to lose the*
" *Kingdom of IRELAND, than to suffer the Reduction*
" *of ROCHELLE, and the Ruin of the Protestant Re-*
" *ligion in France.*" — So that this Desertion of
these brave Protestants was as contrary to sound
Policy, as it was unspeakably dishonourable and
infamous in the *English Court*.

C H A P. III.

*He designs to overthrow the CONSTITUTION,
and to render himself absolute.*

THAT it was the avow'd Design of this Prince to overthrow the antient Constitution and Government of this Kingdom, and to make himself *absolute* and *independant* of Parliaments, his whole History puts beyond all rational Doubt.

Rapin, Vol.
XIV. p. 406.

"It was under the Reign of *Charles I*, says the
" judicious *Rapin*, that the Project to render the
" King *absolute* and *independant* of the Laws was
" push'd with Vigor, and every Sail set to go
" on the faster. *Buckingham* his Favourite filled
" his

his Head with Maxims contrary to the establish-
ed Government, and so was the Cause of his
Ruin. That Lord being assassinated, the King
pursued the Design. He had taken it into his
Head that the Nation might be governed with-
out Parliaments; or at least, that they were
only the Tools of the Sovereign to furnish him
with Money. He had dissolved *three* in the
four first Years of his Reign; and even signi-
fied his Intention of calling no more. Twelve
Years passed without one Parliament summon'd;
during which the King levied Taxes upon his
Subjects at Pleasure; and by his Conduct dis-
covered a Design of reigning in an *arbitrary*
Manner. Unhappily for him, he took too near
his Person and Council two Men seasoned with
the same Maxims, who push'd him still further
down the Precipice, LAUD Archbishop of
Canterbury, and WENTWORTH Earl of Straf-
ford.

He not only refused to redress such *Grievan-*
ces as had crept in during his Father's Reign,
but increased their Number, by adding others
more intolerable. He affected to let his Sub-
jects see, not only that he was not moved with

Rapin, Vol. X.

p. 9.

their *Grievances*, but that it was an Offence to
pray him to redress them. He gave to under-
stand very plainly both by his Speeches and
Conduct that he looked upon *Parliaments* only
as Assemblies appointed purely to supply him
with Money, and that in Case of a Refusal he
might proceed without their Assistance."

In the first fifteen Years of his Reign continu-
al Breaches were made in the *Constitution*, and
the Nation's Liberties invaded. Within the
Space of a Year two Parliaments are summon'd
and dissolved in Displeasure for Presuming to
meddle with *Grievances*, and call the King's Mi-

Tindal's Cont.,
Int. p. 3, 4.

nisters

“ nisters to Account. In the fourth Year of this
 “ Reign, another Parliament is also for the same
 “ Reason dismissed, with a *reproachful* and *threat-*
 “ *ning* Speech, and such Members as had given
 “ Offence are imprisoned and fined. After this
 “ the King govern’d 12 Years without a Parlia-
 “ ment: in which Interval the Bulwark of the
 “ national Liberties, the Power of raising Money,
 “ is not only assumed and vigorously exercised by
 “ the Crown, but Methods used to that End are
 “ pronounced *legal* by the Judges, and preached
 “ as obligatory to the Subject’s *Conscience* by some
 “ of the Clergy. During these Incroachments
 “ upon the Rights of the People, and the King’s
 “ tacit *Renunciation* of the Constitution by the
 “ Disuse of Parliaments, Jealousy and Discontent
 “ spread themselves in the Nation, and all true
 “ Lovers of their Country earnestly long for an
 “ Opportunity to rescue the *Constitution* from en-
 “ tire Destruction.”

Rap. Vol. XI.
 p. 112.

“ From the Manner in which the King govern’d
 “ for 15 Years, one cannot but be convinced that
 “ he intended to alter the Government, and pro-
 “ cure for himself and Successors a Power much
 “ more extensive than what was allowed him by
 “ the Laws, and to which none of his Predeces-
 “ sors, except *Richard II*, had ever pretended. I
 “ except not even *Henry VIII*, the *most absolute*
 “ of all the Kings of *England* since *William the*
 “ Conqueror. But there was this Difference be-
 “ twixt *Henry VIII* and *Charles I*. *Henry* did what-
 “ ever he pleased by Way of Parliament; where-
 “ as *Charles* pretended to rule without Parlia-
 “ ments; looking on them as little necessary to
 “ the Constitution of the Government.”

“ His *Privy-Council* set up by Degrees for an
 “ absolute Court, which did not look upon itself
 “ as obliged to be subject to the Laws. The *Star-*
 “ *Chamber*

“ Chamber was another Court, the most rigorous Rap. Vol. X.
 “ that ever was, the Severity whereof fell chiefly p. 247.
 “ upon those who pretended to dispute the *Prero-*
 “ *gative-Royal*. The *Higb-Commission* was per-
 “ fectly of a Piece with the other two; and under
 “ a Colour of putting a Stop to *Schism*, oppressed,
 “ as *Puritans*, those who refused to submit to a
 “ despotick Power.”

And here one cannot but observe with Lord
Clarendon, “ that a Man shall not unprofitably
 “ spend his Contemplation who considers, on this
 “ Occasion, the Method of *GOD's Justice*, a Me-
 “ thod terribly remarkable in many Passages, that
 “ the same Principles and the same Application of
 “ those Principles, should be used to the Wresting
 “ all Sovereign Power from the *Crown*, which
 “ the *Crown* had a little before made Use of for
 “ the Extending its Authority and Power beyond
 “ its Bounds, to the Prejudice of the just Rights
 “ of the Subject.”

Clarend. Vol.
 II. p. 542.

CHAP. IV.

*The Confusions and Civil War proceeded not from
 any Religious Sect or Party amongst the
 People; but solely from the Oppressions and Ty-
 ranny of the Court.*

“ **N**O Man, says Lord *Clarendon*, can shew me a
 “ Source from whence these Waters of Bit-
 “ terness more probably flow'd, than from the
 “ unreasonable, unskilful, and precipitate Dissolu-
 “ tions of Parliaments,” especially as the King had
 “ publicly declared, “ *That he would account it* p. 4.
 “ *Presumption for any Man to prescribe any Time to*
 “ *his Majesty for Parliaments*,—which Words were
 “ generally

Clarend. V. I.

The Oppressions of K. CHARLES'S Court

“generally interpreted as if no more Assemblies
 “of that Nature were to be expected; and that
 “all Men were prohibited, upon Penalty of Con-
 “fure, *so much as to speak of a Parliament.*—The
 “King had always the Disadvantage (the great
 “Weakness) to harbour Persons about him, who
 “with their utmost Industry, false Information
 “and Malice improved the Faults and Infirmities
 “of the Court to the People: and again, as
 “much as in them lay, rendered the People sus-
 “pected, if not odious, to the King.”

Welw: Mem.
 p. 35.

Welwood, speaking of the King's *Ministers*, sais,
 “Some of them drove so fast, that it was no
 “Wonder the Wheels and Chariot broke: and
 “it was in great part to the indiscreet Zeal of a
 “mitred Head (Bishop *Laud*) that had got an
 “Ascendant over his Master's Conscience and
 “Councils, that both the *Monarchy* and *Hierarchy*
 “owed afterwards their Fall.”

Rapin, Vol. X.
 p. 258.

“All those who were not submissive enough
 “to the King were looked upon as *Puritans*,
 “and frequently oppressed as such. So by a fatal
 “Policy; Men well affected to the Church of
 “England; but Enemies to arbitrary Power, were
 “driven in spite of themselves, to side with the
 “*Puritans*; in order to strengthen their Party and
 “enable them to oppose the Designs of the
 “Court.”

Tindal's Cont.
 Int. p. 5.

The *Parliament* which opposed and levied War
 against the King, consisted chiefly, almost entirely,
 of Persons who were Members of the *Church of*
England and well affected to it. “They were
 “Men attached to the Constitution, as well in
 “Church as State, and Enemies only to the Abuse
 “of Power in both.—The Subversion therefore
 “of the *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical* Constitution which
 “afterwards happened, was not owing to any set-
 “tled Design at the first, but to certain Acci-
 “dents

dents and Conjectures not to be foreseen by the most acute Understanding."

"In the House of Commons, saith Lord Clarendon, were many Persons of Wisdom and Gravity, who being possessed of great and plentiful Fortunes, though they were undevoted enough to the Court, had all imaginable Duty to the King, and Affection to the Government established by Law; and without Doubt the MAJOR PART of that Body consisted of Men who had no Mind to break the Peace of the Kingdom, or to make any considerable Alteration in the Government of Church or State."

Clarend. Vol. I. p. 184.

Yea his Lordship acknowledges, "that as to the Church the Major Part even of those Persons (*i. e.* of the *Anti-Courtiers* and Leaders of the House of Commons, *viz.* Bedford, Say, Pym, Hollis, St. John, &c.) would have been willing to have satisfied the King: The rather, because they had no Reason to think the two Houses, or indeed either of them, could have been induced to have pursued the contrary."—
"In the House of Commons, though of the chief Leaders, Nath. Fiennes and young Sir Harry Vane; and shortly after Mr. Hambden, (who had not before owned it) were believed to be for Root and Branch: Yet Mr. Pym was not of that Mind, nor Mr. Hollis; nor any of the Northern Men, or those Lawyers who drove on most furiously with them; all who were pleased with the Government itself of the Church." So then, the most FURIOUS DRIVERS in the Parliament were Men well attached to the Church.

Ibid. p. 233.

Yea, "The Committee sent to the Parliament with their Answer to the King at York, concerning Sir John Hotham's Refusing him Entrance into Hull, and who were ordered to attend his Majesty there (as a kind of Spies upon him)"

Clarend. Vol. II. p. 515, 518.

The Oppressions of K. CHARLES's Court

" him) viz. Lord Howard of Escrigg, Lord Fairfax, Sir Hugh Cholmly, Sir Philip Stapleton and Sir Harry Cholmly, were all reputed moderate Men, and had not been thought disaffected to the Government of Church or State." His Lordship further assures us, " There was throughout the whole Kingdom a Love of the established Government of Church and State, especially of that Part of the Church which concerned the Liturgy or Book of Common Prayer, which was a most general Object of Veneration with the People."

" Accordingly, the Commons seventeen Days after their first Meeting made an ORDER, That none should sit in their House, but such as would receive the Communion according to the Usage of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND. As for the Peers, Lord Clarendon observes, that when the Bill for taking away the Votes of the Bishops in Parliament was brought into the House, there were only two Lords (Say and Brook) that appeared as Enemies to the whole Fabrick of the Church, or to desire a Dissolution of the Episcopal Government. He also describes the principal Members of the House of Commons to be well affected, or at least not averse, to the Government of the Church, as Pym, Hollis, Whitelock, Selden, &c. It seems therefore unjust to charge in general the Members of this Parliament with having, from the Beginning, Designs of subverting the Constitution, or to blame their Opposition to the Proceedings of the Court, since Frequency of Parliaments, Redress of Grievances, and Calling the King's Arbitrary Ministers to account were the Ends proposed by the major Part of both Houses, without the least Thought of destroying the Civil or Ecclesiastical Government."

Clarend. Vol. III. p. 128.

Tind. Cont. Int. p. 5.

Clarend. Vol. I. p. 233.

The

The Duke of Newcastle; the King's General in the North, in his Declaration affirms, "That the Quarrel between the King and the two Houses was not grounded upon any Matter of Religion, the Rebels professing themselves to be of the same of which his Majesty was known to be."
—"The Militia, says Nelson, was the Apple of Contention: And though they have endeavoured to make it *Bellum Episcopale*, yet, most certainly, it was a War begun, not for the Mitre, but for the Sceptre and the Sword."

"It was not a few of either House, says Welwood, but indeed all the great PATRIOTS that concurred at first to make Inquiry into the Grievances of this Reign. Sir Ed. Hyde (afterwards Lord Clarendon) the Lords Digby, Falkland, Capel; Mr. Grimstone (Speaker of the House of Commons) which brought in King Charles II. Mr. Hollis (since Lord Hollis) all which suffered afterward on the King's Side: And in general most of those who took the King's Part in the succeeding War, were the Men who appeared with the greatest Zeal for the Redress of Grievances, and made the sharpest Speeches on those Subjects. Their Intentions were certainly noble and just, and tended to the equal Advantage of King and People."

"The general Temper and Humour of the Kingdom, Lord Clarendon assures us, was little inclined to the Papist, and less to the Puritan. The Murmur and Discontent that was, appeared to be against the Excess of Power exercised by the Crown; and supported by the Judges in Westminster-Hall. Very much the Major Part, even of those Members who still continued with the House (long after the War commenced and after the Bill for the Extirpation of Episcopacy had passed) were cordially affected to the Government

vernment of the Church established, at least not affected to any other.—And in Truth very few of them desired the *Extirpation* should take effect. The *Church* was not repined at, nor the least Inclination to alter the Government and Discipline of it, or to change the Doctrine shewn. Nor was there any considerable Number of Persons of valuable Condition who did with either. The Cause of so prodigious a Change (as happened) a few Years after was too visible from the Effects. The Archbishop's (*Laud's*) Heart was set upon the Advancement of the *Church*; in which he well knew he had the *King's* full Concurrence, which he thought would be too powerful for any Opposition, and that he should need no other Assistance.—To the violent and illegal Measures therefore by which that furious *Archbishop* sought to advance it, was its consequent Overthrow, without all Peradventure, principally owing.

Tind. Cont.
Int. p. 10.

“ Even when the *Covenant* was subscribed by both Houses, and enjoined to be taken by the People, it is far, says *Tindal*, from appearing that the *Presbyterians* were the Majority in the Parliament: But there seem to be very strong Arguments to the contrary.” Lord *Clarendon*

Clarend. Vol.
II. p. 320.

represents them as “ an Handful of Men, not exceeding the Proportion of three to ten, *i. e.* not a third Part of the House of Commons.” Again,

Page 662.

“ The Number of those who really intended these prodigious Alterations was very inconsiderable.”—“ And even the *Independant* Party,

Vol. IV.
p. 746.

his Lordship declares, comprehended many who were not so much Enemies to the State, or to the Church, as not to desire heartily that a Peace might be established upon the Foundations of both, so their own particular Ambitions might be complied with.”

“ They

“ They were therefore Gentlemen, Members of
 “ the *Church of England*, who began the Quarrel
 “ with the King, and *first* drew the Sword against
 “ him. The Earl of *Essex* the Parliament’s *Gene-*
 “ *ral*, and whose very Name raised an Army;
 “ was *episcopal*. Lord *Clarendon* says of him, that
 “ he was rather displeased with the Person of the
 “ Archbishop and some other Bishops, than inde-
 “ voted to the Function; and was as much de-
 “ voted as any Man to the Book of *Common-*
 “ *Prayer*, and obliged all his Servants to be con-
 “ stantly present with him at it. Of the *Admiral*
 “ who seized the King’s Ships, and employed
 “ them against him, in the Service of the Parlia-
 “ ment, the same noble *Historian* says, he never
 “ discovered any Aversion to *Episcopacy*, but pro-
 “ fessed the contrary. Sir *John Hotbham*, who shut
 “ the Gates of *Hull* against the King, and was
 “ the first Man proclaimed a Traitor by him, he
 “ declares to have been very well affected to, and
 “ to have unquestioned Reverence for the Govern-
 “ ment both in Church and State: The same of
 “ Sir *Hen. Vane*; and of *Lentball* the Speaker:
 “ And of *Pym*, a Person of the greatest Influence
 “ in the House, that he professed to be very en-
 “ tire to the Doctrine and Discipline of the
 “ Church. Nay we are told, by the same great
 “ *Author*, that all those who were countenanced
 “ by the Earl of *Essex*, or in his Confidence, were
 “ such as desired no other Alteration in the Church
 “ or Government, but only of the Persons who
 “ acted in it. And Mr. *Baxter* says, *That the*
 “ *great Officers in Essex’s Army were CONFOR-*
 “ *MISTS; and some of them so zealous for the Li-*
 “ *turgy and Diocesans, that they would not bear a*
 “ *Man as a Minister that had not EPISCOPAL Ordina-*
 “ *tion.* Tis also known that a noted Clergyman,
 “ Dr. *Williams*, Archbishop of *York*, accepted a

Bennet’s
 Memor. p. 287.
 Clarend. V. 1.
 p. 223.
 V. IV. p. 564.

Vol. II. p. 389.

V. III. p. 214.
 V. IV. p. 620.
 Vol. V. p. 63.

V. III. p. 462.)

(Clarend. Vol. II. p. 350.) “ Commission from the Parliament, and went in-
 “ to the Army (a), (and did in Person assist the
 “ Rebels, as Lord *Clarendon* expresses it, to take a
 “ Castle of the King's, in which there was a Gar-
 “ rison, and which was taken by a long Siege.)
 “ So that it is, I think, past Dispute with reason-
 “ able Men, if there was any Fault in Opposing
 “ the King's Measures and Taking up Arms against
 “ him, it must be imputed to the *Church of Eng-*
 “ *land*, for they were the *first* and the *deepest* in
 “ the Quarrel.”

Finally, by the *noble Historian's* own Account, the Horrors of that War and the Ocean of Blood it spilt had happily been prevented, but for the fatal *Inflexibility* of the King himself, and his obstinate Refusal of the Counsel and Persuasions of his most intimate Counsellors and faithfullest Friends. For even after his Standard was erected at *Nottingham*, and the Parliament by Messages had invited him to return, his Lordship informs us, “ All
 “ Hopes of an Army seeming desperate, he was
 “ privately advised by some, whom he trusted as
 “ much as any, and whose Affections were as en-
 “ tire to him as any Men's, to give all other
 “ Thoughts over, and instantly to make all ima-
 “ ginable Haste to *London*, and to appear in the
 “ Parliament House before they had any Expecta-
 “ tion of him. And they conceived there would
 “ be more Likelihood for him to prevail that Way,
 “ than by any Army he was like to raise. And it
 “ must be *solely* imputed to his Majesty's *own* Re-
 “ solution that he took not that Course.”

To the Temerity of the King therefore, and the Rashness of his own *single* and *private* Resolution, in Opposition to the Advice of his wisest and best Friends, were the consequent Troubles owing:
 They

(a) He was Commander in Chief of the Parliament Forces in *North-Wales*.

They all are for *pacific* Measures; the King ALONE is for *War*; and plunges himself and his Kingdom in Blood.

Besides the Lives of so many thousand brave *Tindal's Sum. Britons* as fell in this fatal War, it cost immense *p. 131.* Sums. "From the Year 1641 to 1647, there "was levied, on the Parliament's Side only, in "Money and Money-worth above *Forty Millions.*"

CHAP. V.

The King's illegal Ways of Raising Money.

THE Power of *Raising Money* is justly accounted the *grand Bulwark* of the People's Liberties; for the Moment this is seized by the King, and yielded by the People, He becomes *absolute*, they *Vassals* and *Slaves*. "When once Kings may L'Clerk, *on* "impose Duties, as they think fit, there's an End *Clarend. Hist.* "of *Liberty.*" This has been ever the Sense of *pag. 21.* the *British* Nation, which has made them always, with great Reason, extremely jealous of this Right; knowing their Freedom to depend entirely upon it. But King *Charles* not liking the Restraints of Parliaments, and designing to reign absolute, strikes at this *essential* and *vital* Part of our Constitution, and resolves to raise Money without the Ceremony of Parliament, and by the mere Dint of his own Royal Prerogative and Will. "He told the Parliament in *Rapin, Vol. X.* "plain Terms by the Lord Keeper, and frequent- *p. 284.* "ly hinted himself, *that he knew how to find Mo-* "ney *without the Help of Parliament.*"

To compass this Point,—First, the *Pulpits* are set to work; and the *Clergy* began by the Authority and Name of GOD, and the awful Sanctions of *Religion*, to promote the Schemes of the Court.

Rapin, Vol.
X. p. 114.

Ibid. p. 114.

Ibid. p. 115.

“ They got Ministers hired for that Purpose, to
 “ preach up as a *Scripture Doctrine*, that Subjects
 “ were obliged to obey the King’s Will and Plea-
 “ sure without Examination.” The Doctors *Sybthorp* and *Manwaring* in their Sermons and Writ-
 ings solemnly declare — “ *That the Prince doth*
 “ *whatsoever pleaseth him. Where the Word of a*
 “ *King is, there is Power, and who may say unto*
 “ *him, what dost Thou? That the King is not bound*
 “ *to observe the Laws of the Realm concerning*
 “ *the Subjects Rights and Liberties; but that his*
 “ *royal Will and Command in Imposing Loans and*
 “ *Taxes, without common Consent in Parliament,*
 “ *doth oblige the Subject’s Conscience upon Pain of*
 “ *ETERNAL DAMNATION. That those who refused to*
 “ *pay such Loans offended against the Law of GOD,*
 “ *and the King’s supreme Authority, and became*
 “ *guilty of Impiety, Disloyalty, and Rebellion. And*
 “ *that the Authority of Parliament is NOT NECES-*
 “ *SARY for the Raising of Aids and Subsidies, &c.*”
 These Doctrines were so highly relished at Court,
 “ That *A—B—Abbot*,” a pious, learned, and mo-
 derate Divine, who scorned to sacrifice his Country’s
 Liberty to the Ambition of his Prince, was “ suf-
 “ pended from all his *Archiepiscopal* Functions, and
 “ confined to his Country House in a moorish un-
 “ healthy Place, for Refusing to licence *Sybthorp*’s
 “ Sermon. *Manwaring* was severely censured and
 “ fined by the *House of Lords*, ordered to be im-
 “ prisoned, suspended for three Years, and de-
 “ clared incapable of any Ecclesiastical Dignity or
 “ Secular Office.—” But the *King* (as if in de-
 termined Defiance of the *House of Lords*, and as re-
 solved to let them see, that he liked the Doctrine
 preached, and would stand by and reward the
 Preacher) “ upon the Rising of the House pre-
 “ sently remits his Fine; gives him his Pardon; re-
 “ wards him first with two good Livings, then with
 “ the

“ the Deanry of *Worcester*; afterward successively Neal, Vol. II.
 “ with the Bishopricks of *St. Davids* and *Chi-* pag. 180.
chester. All this, while he lay under the Cen-
 “ sure of Parliament. *Sybtborp*, the other Incen-
 “ diary, was made Prebendary of *Peterborough*,
 “ with a good Living annexed to it: though *Wood*,
 “ the *Oxford* Historian, confesses, he had nothing
 “ to recommend him but *Forwardness* and *servile*
 “ *Flattery*.”

It cannot be denied, says Lord *Clarendon*, “ but *Clarend. Vol.*
 “ that there was sometimes preached at *White-* I. pag. 77.
Hall Matter very unfit for the Place, and very
 “ scandalous for the Persons; who presumed often
 “ to determine Things out of the Verge of their
 “ own Profession.”

This absolute Authority over the Purfes of his
 Subjects, with which the *Clergy* had vested him,
 the *King* very soon vigorously exerts. By an old
 obsolete Law, certain *Knights* were obliged to at-
 tend the *King's Coronation*: but the Plague then
 raging in divers Parts of the Country, “ His
 “ Majesty set forth a Proclamation, that in Re-
 “ gard of the Infection then spreading through
 “ the Kingdom he would dispense with those
 “ *Knights*, who by an antient Statute were to at- *Hist. Stu. p.*
 “ tend at that Solemnity, and they were thereby RE- 89.
 “ QUIRED NOT TO ATTEND. However, within a
 “ few Months after, he took Advantage of their
 “ *Absence*, and raised a vast Sum of Money out of
 “ their Estates at the Council Table.” Fining
 them heavily for not Giving that *Attendance*, which
 he had not only dispensed with, but expressly re-
 quired them not to give.

“ He levied also great Sums by Fines and Im-
 “ prisonments upon all Men of 40*l. per Annum*,
 “ and upwards, who refused to take upon them
 “ the Order of *Knighthood*; though in Respect of *Ibid. p. 110.*
 “ their Estates and Quality they were altogether

- " unfit. Thus they were thrust into *Knighthood*,
 " or a *Jayl*, upon refusing to pay this unjust
 " romantic Imposition, which turned Industry into
 " Errantry.—*James Maliverer*, *Will. Ingleby*, and
 " *Thomas Moyser*, Esqs; *Yorkshire* Gentlemen, were
 " severely fined (*Maliverer* in 2000 *l.*) as a Com-
 " position for the Order of *Knighthood*, whereas
 " he might have been a *Baronet* for half the Mo-
 " ney." — " Multitudes being summoned on this
 " Occasion, the Composition brought the King in
 " above an 100,000 *l.*"
- Rapin, Vol. X. p. 253. " Unjust Projects of all kinds, Lord *Clarendon*
 Clarend. Vol. I. pag. 26, 67. " owns, were set on foot; many ridiculous, ma-
 " ny scandalous, and all very grievous, which
 " served only to offend and incense the People,
 " and brought little Supplies to the King, yet
 " raised a great Stock for Expostulation, Mur-
 " mur, and Complaint. Many Persons of the
 " best Quality, under Peerage, were committed to
 " several Prisons, with Circumstances unusual and
 " unheard of, for Refusing to pay Money required
 " by those extraordinary Ways."
- Rapin, Vol. X. pag. 249. " He granted *Monopolies*, i. e. by *Letters Pa-*
 " *tents* formed *Companies*, to whom alone he gave
 " the Privilege of selling certain *Wares*, and who
 " were to pay him for it such a yearly Revenue.
 " This was directly contrary to the Rights of the
 " People, and very destructive to Trade: But in
 " those Days the Good of the Nation was what
 " the Court had least in View. This Abuse went
 " so far, that in a Manner all Sorts of Commo-
 " dities were *monopolized*, and the Sale thereof en-
 " grossed by some *Company*; even to *Old Rags*."
- Neal, Vol. II. p. 204. " In short, there was no Branch of the Subject's
 " Property, which the Government could dispose
 " of, but was bought and sold. He raised above
 " a *Million* a Year (in an arbitrary Manner, and
 " without Act of Parliament) by the Imposts on
 " Soap,

“ Soap, Salt, Candles, Wine, &c.—Grants were
 “ given out for Weighing Hay and Straw within
 “ three Miles of London; for Gaging Red-Herring
 “ Barrels and Butter-Casks; for Marking Iron;
 “ Sealing Lace, &c.—which being purchased of
 “ the Crown, must be paid for by the Subject.
 “ In a Word no Body ventured to build any Rapin, Vol. X.
 “ more new Ships, because as soon as they were pag. 126.
 “ ready, the King seized them for his Service,
 “ against the Will of their Owners.”

He extorted large Sums of Money also by Clarend. Vol.
 an Abuse of the Court of Wards: “ by which l. pag. 152.
 “ Husbandry all the rich Families of England,
 “ of Noblemen and Gentlemen, were exceedingly
 “ incensed and even indevoted to the Crown;
 “ looking upon what the Law intended for their
 “ Preservation, to be now applied to their Destruction.
 “ ion.”——“ He sold the Lands belonging to the
 “ Royal *Domaine* and created Peers for Money.”——
 “ The old Laws of the Forrest were revived, by Ibid. Vol. I.
 “ which not only great Fines were imposed, but pag. 4.
 “ great annual Rents intended, and like to be
 “ settled, by Way of Contract; which Burden Ibid. Vol. I.
 “ lighted most upon Persons of Quality and Ho- p. 68, 286.
 “ nour, who thought themselves above ordinary
 “ Oppressions, and were therefore like to remem-
 “ ber it with more Sharpness.—The People were
 “ so immoderately vexed by the Justice in Eyre’s
 “ Seat, that few Men could assure themselves
 “ their Estates and Houses might not be brought
 “ within the Jurisdiction of some Forrest; which,
 “ if they were, it cost them great Fines.—By this Ibid. p. 273.
 “ great and terrible Office, most Counties in
 “ England had been vexed and oppressed, and the
 “ most considerable Persons in those Counties.—
 “ This having not been practised for some Hun- Ibid. Vol. II.
 “ dreds of Years, was looked upon as a terrible p. 475.
 “ Innovation and Exaction upon Persons, who
 “ knew not that they were in any Fault; nor
 “ was

" was any imputed to them, but the Original
 " Sin of their Fore-fathers, even for which they
 " were obliged to pay great Penalties and Ran-
 " soms."

Rapin, Vol.
 X. pag. 294.

" Under Colour of Examining *defective Titles*,
 " all the Proprietors, of Lands held of the Crown,
 " were obliged to produce their Titles; to which,
 " how good soever they might be, the Commis-
 " sioners made Objections. So to avoid a Law-
 " suit with the King, wherein they were sure to
 " be cast, considering how the Judges stood af-
 " fected, the Proprietors were forced to com-
 " pound, and give a Sum of Money to secure
 " their Lands, which was looked upon as a ma-
 " nifest Oppression.

Hist. Stu. p.
 125.

Rapin, Vol.
 X. pag. 257.

" A great Number of Noblemen, Ladies, and
 " Gentlemen of the first Quality (near 200 in
 " Number) were condemned in grievous Fines
 " to the King's Use, for Continuing in *London*, and
 " not Residing in their respective Countries, and
 " at their Mansion-House, which the King by Pro-
 " clamation had commanded; as were also others
 " for Enlarging the City of *London* by new Build-
 " ings."—" These Impositions not being sufficient
 " to answer the King's Exigencies, " He erects an
 " Office for Licensing his Subjects to travel: Ano-
 " ther Office for Letters: Another for Forfeitures
 " for such as spoil the High-ways: All these were
 " enacted without a Statute."

Hist. Stu. p.
 124.

Clarend. Vol.
 I. p. 5.

" Five Subsidies only mentioned as intended to
 " be granted in the Second Parliament, Lord
 " *Clarendon* complains, were exacted with the same
 " Rigour throughout the Kingdom, as if an *Act* had
 " passed for that Purpose; and divers Gentlemen
 " of prime Quality were, for Refusing to pay the
 " same, committed to Prison with great Rigour
 " and extraordinary Circumstances. And could it
 " be imagined, that those Men would meet again

“ in a free Parliament, without a sharp and severe Expostulation, and Inquisition into their own Right, and the Power that had imposed upon that Right? And yet all these Provocations, and many other almost of as large an Extent, produced no other Resentment than the *Petition of Right*, of no Prejudice to the Crown, which was likewise purchased at the Price of five Subsidies more; and in a very short Time after that Supply was granted, that Parliament was likewise, with strange Circumstances of Passion on all Sides, dissolved.”

Let us hear this noble Lord farther laying open the intolerable Oppressions of the Court, and the Sources of the Civil War: “ Supplemental Acts of State were made to supply Defects of Law; and so Tunnage and Poundage and other Duties were collected by Order of *Council*, which had been positively refused to be settled by *Act* of Parliament, and new and greater Impositions laid upon Trade. For the better Support of these extraordinary Ways, and to protect the Agents and Instruments employed in them, and to discountenance and suppress all bold Enquiries and Opposers, the *Council-Table* and *Star-Chamber* (two arbitrary and oppressive Courts) enlarge their Jurisdiction to a vast Extent: *holding for Honourable, that which pleased; and for Just, that which profited*: And being the same Persons in several Rooms, grew both *Courts of Law* to determine Right, and *Courts of Revenue* to bring Money into the Treasury: The *Council-Table* by Proclamations enjoining the People what was not enjoined by the Law, and prohibiting that which was not prohibited; and the *Star-Chamber* censuring the Breach and Disobedience of these Proclamations by very great Fines and Imprisonment; so that
“ any

Clarend, Vol.
I. p. 67, 68, 69.

“ any Disrespect to any Acts of State, or to the
 “ Persons of States-men, was in no Time more
 “ penal : and those Foundations of Right by which
 “ Men valued their Security, to the Apprehension
 “ and Understanding of wise Men, never more
 “ in Danger to be destroyed.”

Rapin, Vol. X.
 p. 248, 249.

“ There was continual Occasion to use Violence ;
 “ to seize the Effects and to imprison the Mer-
 “ chants, in Order to oblige them to pay what
 “ the *House of Commons* had declared illegal.—
 “ The Officers of the Customs were impowered
 “ by the *Council* to enter into any Ship, Vessel or
 “ House, and to search any Trunk or Chest, and
 “ break any Bulk whatsoever, in Default of the
 “ Payment of *Customs*. This had never been prac-
 “ tised before : and these Officers under Colour
 “ of *Searching*, used a great many Oppressions and
 “ Rogueries, which made People exclaim the
 “ more.”

Hist. Stu. pag.
 90, 92.

“ He sent *Letters* under his *Privy-Seal* into the
 “ several Counties of *England*, directed to such
 “ Persons as he thought best able to lend ; requir-
 “ ing by Way of *Loan* such Sums as each was
 “ taxed at.” This *Loan* a noble Army of Patri-
 “ ots bravely refused to pay, and severely suffered
 “ for it. “ Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Sir *Walter Earle*,
 “ Sir *John Strangeways*, Sir *Thomas Grantham*, Sir
 “ *John Elliot*, &c. with many others (in the
 “ Whole 22 Knights, and other Gentlemen of
 “ Birth and Character, to the Number of 78)
 “ were imprisoned in the *Marshalsea*, *Fleet*, *Gate-*
 “ *House* and other Prisons, in Counties most dis-
 “ tant from their Seats, for Refusing to lend what
 “ Money the *Council* was pleased to assess them.
 “ Sir *Peter Hayman*, one of the Barons of the
 “ *Cinque Ports*, for Refusing Compliance to the
 “ *Loan*, was sent to serve (as a Soldier) in the
 “ *Palati-*

- " *Palatinate*. Sir Randal Crew Chief Justice, not Whitelock,
 " favouring the *Loan*, was put out of his Place." *Mem. p. 8.*
 " The Reluctancy of private Persons made the Echard, *pag.*
 " Government more severe in the Execution of 430.
 " the Project, and that Severity made the People
 " more averse." " Those of the lower Sort who
 " refused to lend were pressed for the Army, or
 " had Soldiers quartered on them ; who by their Neal, *Vol. II.*
 " insolent Behaviour disturbed the Peace of Fa- *pag. 173.*
 " milies and committed frequent Robberies, Bur- *Rapin, Vol. X.*
 " glaries, Rapines, Murders, and other barbarous *pag. 149.*
 " Cruelties ; insomuch that the High-ways were
 " dangerous to travel and the Markets unfre-
 " quented : Officers of Justice in Performance of
 " their Duties were resisted and endangered :
 " Tradesmen, Artificers, and Farmers were forced
 " to leave their Trades, and give up their wonted
 " Dwellings, and to employ their Time in Preserv-
 " ing themselves and Families from Cruelty."
 " To the Imposing of *Loans*, was added the Bil- Whitelock,
 " letting of Soldiers ; martial Law was executed, *pag. 8.*
 " and the Soldiers committed great Outrages."
 " An Order was made in Council for the Im-
 " prisonment of those who refused to pay *Coat Tindal's Sum.*
 " and *Conduct* Money : And several Aldermen of *p. 122.*
 " *London* were committed to Prison, for Refusing
 " to give in the Names of such Persons as were
 " able to lend the King Money." " The *Papists* Whitelock
 " were forward in the *Loan*, the *Puritans* were *Mem. p. 8.*
 " Recusants in it."
 " At this Time the Earl of *Denbigh*, the Ad-
 " miral, had an Hundred Sail of Ships under his
 " Command in our Seas, but his Excellency hav-
 " ing no Commission to fight, suffered divers
 " *English* Vessels to be taken away by our Ene- Ibid.
 " mies, in his View, without Rescue by their
 " Countrymen."

" Besides

- “ Besides the *Loan*, there was a *Benevolence* also
 required; Another Way of *Forcing* the People
 “ to give a *free Gift*. The Bishop of *Lincoln* was
 “ prosecuted in the *Star-Chamber* for Speaking a-
 “ gainst it.” — “ The King ordered that the
 “ Counties should advance *Coat and Conduet* Mo-
 “ ney, for the Maintenance of his Troops. He
 “ would have borrowed 300,000 Pounds of the
 “ City of *London*, but had the Mortification to
 “ meet with a Denial. He was so displeased at it,
 “ that he resolved to be revenged in this Manner:”
 “ A Grant, made by the King in the Beginning of
 “ his Reign, in Consideration of great Sums of
 “ Money, of good Quantities of Land in *Ireland*,
 “ and of the City of *London-Derry* there, was
 “ voided by a Suit in the *Star-Chamber*. All the
 “ Lands after a vast Expence in Building and
 “ Planting were resumed into the King's Hands,
 “ and a Fine of *fifty Thousand Pounds* imposed up-
 “ on the City.” “ He fined also the City in 1500
 “ Marks for neglecting to make Inquisition about
 “ the Death of one Dr. *Lamb*, who passed for a
 “ Conjurer, employed by the Duke of *Buckingham*,
 “ whom the Mob had pursued from Street to Street;
 “ and who died a few Days after.” “ He grant-
 “ ed a Commission to twenty three Lords and
 “ others to raise Money by Impositions in the
 “ Nature of *Excise*.” “ When the Parliament,
 “ Anno 1627, met, they debate about Grievances,
 “ of billeting of Soldiers, Loans, Benevolences,
 “ Privy Seals, Imprisonment of Refusers, not
 “ bayling them upon *Habeas Corpus*, and incline
 “ to give no Supply, till these are redressed.”
 But the *Tax* which of all others was most grie-
 vous to the Subject, and raised the greatest Cla-
 mour, was that which was called *SHIP-MONEY*:
 “ The King, by his Answer to the *Petition* of
 “ *Right*, had bound himself not to raise any *Tax*
 without

Hist. Stu. p. 90.

Clarend. Hist.
Vol. II. pag.
372.

Rapin, Vol. X.
p. 257.

Echard, pag.
434.

Whitelock
Mem. p. 9.

“ without the Consent of both Houses. But Ex-Rapin, Vol.
 “ pedients to evade the most solemn Promises are X. pag. 284.
 “ seldom wanting, when Men have Power in their
 “ Hands.”——“ For a Spring and Magazine (sais
 “ Lord Clarendon) that should have no Bottom,
 “ and for an everlasting Supply of all Occasions, Clarend. Hist.
 “ a Writ was framed in a Form of Law and di-Vol. I. p. 68.
 “ rected to the Sheriff of every County in Eng-
 “ land, to provide a Ship of War for the King’s
 “ Service; and to send it amply provided and fitted,
 “ by such a Day, to such a Place: And with that
 “ Writ were sent to every Sheriff Instructions
 “ that instead of a SHIP, he should levy upon his
 “ County such a SUM OF MONEY, and return
 “ the same to the Treasurer of the Navy for his
 “ Majesty’s Use; with Direction in what Man-
 “ ner he should proceed (viz. by Distress and Im-
 “ prisonment) against such as refused. And from
 “ hence that Tax had the Denomination of Ship
 “ Money: by which for some Years really accrew’d
 “ the Yearly Sum of 200,000 l. to the King’s
 “ Coffers.”

“ This Tax being imposed by Virtue of the Rapin, Vol.
 “ Prerogative Power, several private Persons re-X. p. 293.
 “ fused to pay the Sums they were rated at.—
 “ But the King considering that by the Help of
 “ this Tax he should have a settled Revenue, be-
 “ sides that it would be a Precedent to make Use
 “ of his Prerogative on other Occasions, resolved
 “ to support his Project at any Rate.—To that
 “ End, he sent to the Judges of the Realm for
 “ their Opinion concerning his Power to impose
 “ this Tax. As the Judges wholly depended
 “ upon the Court, after much Solicitation by
 “ the Chief Justice, Finch, promising Preferment Whitelock,
 “ to some, and highly threatening others whom p. 24.
 “ he found doubting, he got from them an An-
 “ swer in the King’s Favour.”

“ Great

Echard, page
459.

Neal, Vol. II.
pag. 157.

“ Great Murmurs and a general Sense of Oppression ran throughout the Kingdom, on Account of this *New Tax*, levied without Act of Parliament: In *London* one Mr. *Chambers* a Merchant had peremptorily refused to pay it; for which he had been committed to Prison by Sir *Edw. Bromfield* Lord Mayor, against whom he commenced a Suit for Trespass and false Imprisonment, which *Case*, when it came to be heard before Sir *Rob. Berkely*, one of the Judges of the King's Bench, he would not suffer the Point of the Legality of *Ship-Money* to be argued by *Chambers's* Council, but declared in open Court *that there was a RULE OF LAW, and a RULE OF GOVERNMENT; and that many Things which might not be done by the RULE OF LAW, might be done by the RULE OF GOVERNMENT.*—His Lordship added,—“ *That no Act of Parliament could bind the King not to command away his Subjects Goods and Money.*” Yea, all the Judges (except *Hutton* and *Croke* (a)) partly by Promises and partly by Threats, were brought to avow the Legality of the Tax, and to declare, “ *That His Majesty may, by WRIT under the great Seal, command all his Subjects AT THEIR CHARGE, to provide and furnish such a Number of Ships, with Men, Victuals and Ammunition,* and

Whitelock,
p. 24.

(a) “ Judge *Croke*, says *Whitelock*, of whom I speak knowingly, was resolved to deliver his Opinion for the King, and had prepared his Argument for that End: but upon his most serious Thoughts, and being heartened by his Lady, a very pious Woman, who told her Husband *she hoped he would do nothing against his Conscience for Fear of any Danger or Prejudice to him or his Family; and that she would be content to suffer Want or any Misery with him, rather than be an Occasion for him to do or say any Thing against his Judgment and Conscience.* Upon these, and like Encouragements, he altered his Purpose, and gave his Opinion against the King.”

“ and for such Time as his Majesty shall THINK *Echard, pag. 459.*
 “ FIT, for the Defence and Safeguard of his King-
 “ dom in Time of Danger and Peril; and BY LAW
 “ might COMPEL the Doing thereof in Case of Refu-
 “ sal. And that in SUCH CASE, The King is the
 “ SOLE JUDGE both of the Dangers, and WHEN
 “ and HOW the same are to be avoided.
 A Sentence, says Lord Clarendon, “ which
 “ brought upon the Judges deserved Reproach
 “ and Infamy: And by which they justly fell into
 “ Irreverence and Scorn. For when Men heard
 “ Ship-Money demanded in a Court of Law, as a *Clarend. Vol. I. p. 69, 70.*
 “ Right; and found it, by sworn Judges of the
 “ Law, adjudged to be so, upon such Grounds
 “ and Reasons as every Stander-by was able to
 “ swear was not Law,—and were required to pay
 “ it by a Logick which left no Man any Thing
 “ he might call *his own*, they no more looked
 “ upon it as the Case of one Man, but the Case
 “ of the Kingdom; and an Imposition which
 “ they thought themselves bound in Conscience to
 “ the Publick Justice not to submit to.—Sir *John*
 “ *Finch*, also Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, *Id. p. 74;*
 “ upon a Demurrer put into a Bill before him,
 “ which had no other Equity in it than *an Order*
 “ of the Lords of Council, declared, *That whilst he*
 “ *was* KEEPER no Man should be SO SAWCY
 “ as to dispute those Orders; but that the Wisdom
 “ of that Board should be ALWAYS Ground enough
 “ for him to make a DECREE in Chancery.” Here
 then was a total End to the Liberty of the Subject;
 and the CONSTITUTION of our Government was
 absolutely overthrown; when an Order of Council
 is to have the same Authority as a Law enacted by
 Parliament; and one of the highest Courts of Ju-
 dicature declares it will always regulate its Deter-
 minations thereby.

The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of London petitioned the King for, at least, an Abatement of the heavy Number of Ships exacted from them, but were by Order of Council smartly told, "That Petitions against such Commands were not to be received: And whereas you speak of PRECEDENTS; you shall know that the PRECEDENTS in former Times were Obedience, not Disobedience; and that there are also PRECEDENTS of Punishments of those that disobeyed his Majesty's Commands." "The Sheriff of Northamptonshire having sent to Court a Petition of the County against Ship-Money, the Council reprimanded him very sharply, commanding him to do his Office on Pain of exemplary Punishment. The Judges were exhorted in their Circuits to use all their Authority to promote it. So it was evident the King was resolved to compass his Ends, let what would be the Consequence: And that this Imposition was grown by Degrees a standing Tax upon the People." — Even in the Year 1640, when the War with Scotland was commenced, "The King instead of giving over this odious Tax, continued to exact it with great Rigor, though his Affairs were then at a Crisis which should have made him dread the Issue.— The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London were proceeded against in the Star-Chamber for not Levying it with that Severity upon the City which the Court expected." So extreme was the Rigor of the Court in this Point, "That when the Writs for Ship-Money were issued out, the Proceedings against the Officers, Bailiffs, Constables, &c. for not Collecting the Assessment, was to bind them over to answer at the Council-Board, and Commitment if any refuse to give Bond: And if Sheriffs neglected to collect all such Assessments in their Year, they

Echard, pag.
459.

Rapin, Vol. X.
pag. 398, 399.

Id. p. 438.

Coke Det.
p. 108.

“ they shall stand charged with the Arrears.”
 And when the Parliament of 1640 was conven’d,
 Lord *Clarendon* observes, “ The Court proceeded
 “ in all Respects in the same unpopular Ways it
 “ had done; Ship-Money was levyed with the
 “ same Severity; and the same Rigor used in Ec-
 “ clefiastical Courts, without the least Compliance
 “ with the Humour of any Man.”

Clarend. Vol.
I. pag. 131.

“ A Bill was depending in the *House of Com-*
 “ *mons* to grant his Majesty the Duties of *Tonnage*
 “ and *Poundage*, but before it was passed, the
 “ *Custom-House* Officers seized the Goods of three
 “ eminent Merchants *Mr. Rolls*, *Mr. Chambers*,
 “ and *Mr. Vassal* for Non-payment. *Mr. Cham-*
 “ *bers* (an Alderman) was fined 2000 *l.* besides
 “ the Loss of his Goods, and suffered six Years
 “ Imprisonment (*b*). *Mr. Roll*’s Warehouses were
 “ locked up; and himself (a Member of Parlia-
 “ ment) taken out of the House of Commons
 “ and imprisoned. This occasioned some warm
 “ Speeches against the *Custom-House* Officers and
 “ Farmers of the Revenues: but the King took
 “ all upon himself; and sent the House Word,
 “ that what the Officers had done was by his spe-
 “ cial Direction and Command, and it was not so
 “ much *their Act*, as *his own*. This was a new
 “ Way of Covering the unwarrantable Proceed-
 “ ings of corrupt Ministers, and was said to be
 “ the Advice of the Bishops *Laud* and *Neile*; a
 “ Contrivance that laid the Foundation of his Ma-
 “ jesty’s Ruin.”

Neal, Vol. II,
p. 195.

(*b*) *Whitelock* says, that after 12 Years Imprisonment, and *Whitelock*,
 long Waiting for Satisfaction for his Losses from the long Par- *Mem. p. 13.*
 lament, he at last died in Want.

C H A P. VI.

The King's flagrant Invasions of the Privilege and Rights of PARLIAMENT, and Violences committed on it.

THE Freedom and Rights of PARLIAMENT have ever been held sacred by the People of Britain. The two Houses are as essential and unalterable a Part of the Legislature of these Kingdoms as the Sovereign himself: they share with him in the Sovereignty: All manifest and open Invasion of *their* Liberty has therefore been justly considered as subversive of the CONSTITUTION: a Wound to the People's Right in its tenderest and vital Part. But in what Manner did King Charles behave towards his Parliaments? Why finding them a Check upon his arbitrary Measures, complaining of Evil Counsellors, and praying a Redress of Grievances; He at first hectors and threatens them, and afterwards proceeded to open Outrage and Force.

Rapin. Vol. X.
pag. 211.

Ech. p. 444.

Hist Stu. p. 83.

"It was the Temper of the King and Court to look upon the Parliament, especially the Commons, with extreme Contempt," — "He taxed them (in the Beginning of his Reign, and long before the open Rupture) with *Undutifulness* and *Sedition*; calls the Leaders of them *VIPERS* and *EVIL AFFECTED PERSONS*, who must look for *their Punishment*: stiles them *MALEVOLENT PERSONS*, who like *EMPYRICKS* and *LEWD ARTISTS* strove to make new Work." — Tells them, "If they had any Grievances to be redressed, of which his Majesty was not sensible; they must complain in a MANNERLY Way, without the least Reflection on his, or his blessed Father's Government." — Sais, I must let you know, that I will not allow

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"any of my Servants to be questioned amongst you, Rapin, Vol.
 "much less such as are of eminent Place and near X. p. 47. 48.
 "unto me."—"Wonders at the FOOLISH IMPU- Hist. Stu. pag.
 "DENCE of any Man that can think he should be 84.
 "drawn to offer such a Sacrifice, much unworthy the
 "Greatness of a King, and Master of SUCH A SER-
 "VANT. (Buckingham an extremely insolent, cor-
 "rupt, oppressive and most obnoxious Prime Mi-
 "nister.) (a) But Lord Clarendon owns, "That Clarend. Vol.
 "for the Sovereign Power to interpose, and shelter I. p. 7.
 "an accused Servant from Answering, does not
 "only seem an Obstruction of Justice, and lay an
 "Imputation upon the Prince of being privy to
 "the Offence; but leaves so great a Scandal upon
 "the Party himself, that he is generally concluded
 "guilty of whatever he is charged with."

In another Speech He tells them,—"*That if*
they should not do their Duties, in Contributing
what the State needed, he must use other Means Rap. Vol. X.
which God had put into his Hands," (i. e. if they p. 128.
 would not give, he would take it by Force, as
 he quickly did). "*Take not this as a Threatning, his*
Majesty adds, for I scorn to threaten any but my
Equals."—Again, "*I desire you will hasten my* Echard, pag.
Supply, or else it will be worse for yourselves."— 426.

D 3

That

(a) "*Whitelock* observes that there were in this House
 many Persons of extraordinary Parts and Abilities (*Selden,*
Pym, Glanville, Herbert, &c.) and as to their Estates, one Hist. Stu. p. 85.
 may make a Judgment by what *H. L'Estrange* says of the
 next Parliament, consisting in a Manner of the same Mem-
 bers, viz. *Their Estates, modestly estimated, were able to buy*
the House of Peers, the King excepted, though an Hundred
and eighteen, thrice over. A proper Assembly this to bear
the Insults of a weak and imperious Administration!"—
 Neither *Rome* nor *Athens*, says a learned Historian, could Coke Det.
 ever glory in such an Assembly as the Commons of this pag. 57.
 Parliament were, for their Virtue and Learning: Nor any
 Age produce such a Number of Men of the like Integrity
 to their Country, and humble Obedience to their Prince."

- Coke *Detec.* "That his COMMAND was, that without any
pag. 32. "farther Delay, they should proceed in the Business
 "of Supply; that he would not accept of less than
 "was proportionable to the Greatness and Goodness of
 "the Cause."—"A Privy-Counsellor's Speech in-
 "timated, that in Case they did not Content the
 "King they would run the Risk of being the Cause
 "that there would be no more Parliaments in ENGLAND.
 Rap. *Vol. X.* "This Threat so often hinted, one while by the
p. 141, 142. "King himself, another while by the Lord Keeper,
 "now again by the Members of the House, known
 "to be devoted to the Court; sometimes in dark,
 "sometimes in plain Terms; begot a quite con-
 "trary Effect to what the King expected. Instead
 "of terrifying the Commons, it made them sensi-
 "ble how watchful they ought to be of the King's
 "Proceedings, lest their Condescension or even
 "Silence should authorise some Things very pre-
 "judicial to the Liberties of the Nation whom
 "they represented."—"However, before they en-
 "tered upon Grievances, they voted the King
 Coke *Detec.* "five entire Subsidies, which was the greatest Tax
p. 58. "ever before given to any King of England at
 "once, and to be paid in the shortest Time.—
 Ibid. *pag. 76.* "This Parliament with which the King quarrelled,
 "had obsequiously and unanimously gratified him,
 "above what any other House of Commons ever
 "did to any King of England before."

Note, These Outrages upon his Parliaments, as well as those which follow, were committed in the former and the peaceful Part of his Reign; long before Matters came to any Extremity betwixt them.

He seized and sent to the Tower two of the Leading Members of the House of Commons, Sir D. Diggs and Sir John Elliot, for their Liberty of Speech

Speech in Impeaching the Duke of *Buckingham*,
 "contrary to the Opinion of the Judges, *that* Hist. Stu. pag.
 "their RESTRAINT was an ARREST of the whole 87.
 "Body." "This Imprisonment made a terrible Rapin, *V. X.*
 "Impression upon the *House of Commons*, who p. 74. 75.
 "considered it as an exprefs Breach of their Pri-
 "vileges. — Unluckily, there was nothing of
 "Truth in what was ascribed to these two Mem-
 "bers. — Thirty-six *Lords* who were present at
 "the Conference, where the Impeachment was
 "brought in, attested under their Hands, that
 "they did not hear Sir *D. Diggs* speak any such
 "Words (as those for which the King had com-
 "mitted him) and the *Commons* cleared their two
 "Members by declaring publickly, *that neither of*
 "*them had exceeded his Commission.*"
 "The Troubles and Jealousies of this Parlia-
 "ment (Anno 1626) Archdeacon *Echard* ob-
 "serves, were not confined to the *Commons*, but
 "took their Turns also in the *House of Lords*.
 "They thought it an Intrenchment on the Liber- Echard, pag.
 "ties of *Peerage*, as well as a Breach into the Le- 427.
 "gislation, that *Writs* were not issued to some
 "of their *Fellow-Peers*; and when by Importuni-
 "ty obtained, were still attended with exprefs
 "Orders that they should not appear." In open
 "Violation of their Rights also "He committed
 "the *E. of Arundel* to the *Tower* in the Time
 "of Parliament, without expressing the Cause.
 "The *Lords* entered into a grand Debate con-
 "cerning their Privileges, and unanimously or-
 "dered a Remonstrance or Petition, claiming
 "Privileges from Arrests." They drew up a first,
 then a second, at length a third very dutiful Pe-
 tition to the King; but they are at first trifled
 with and delayed, and at last huffed, and sent a-
 way in Disgust, with this Answer, "That he little Ibid.
 "looked for such a Message from the House; there-

K. CHARLES I's *Invasions of the Privilege*

“fore when he received a Message fit to come from
 “them to their SOVEREIGN, they should receive an
 “Answer. However their Lordships still pursued
 “their Petition, till the *Earl* was restored to his
 “Liberty; but with so much Reluctance, that
 “the Favour was rather despised, than duely ac-
 “knowleged.”

LIBERTY of speaking was, contrary to their
 fundamental Right, denied to the *House of Com-
 mons*. “Sir John Elliot standing up to speak and
 “beginning so as made it expected he was going
 “to fall upon the Favourite (*Buckingham*) and
 “Ministry, the SPEAKER started up from his
 “Chair and said, *there is a COMMAND laid upon*
 “*me that I must COMMAND you not to proceed.*
 “Whereupon Elliot sat down.”—“Sir D. Diggs
 “cried out in great Concern, *Must we not proceed?*
 “*Let us sit in Silence! We are miserable and know*
 “*not what to do.*” Another said, *We must now*
 “*speak, or for ever hold our Peace.*”

Hist. Stu.
pag. 98.

Upon the important Debate on the Case of Mr.
Rolls, “it was voted that the Seising his Goods was
 “a Breach of Privilege. The SPEAKER being
 “called upon to put the Question proposed, said,
 “He durst not, for the King had commanded the
 “Contrary. The House in some Disturbance ad-
 “journ to a Day; being then met again they
 “with the SPEAKER to put the former Que-
 “tion; he refused, and said, *he had a Command*
 “*to adjourn the House.*”—“It was easy to see
 “what the Consequence might be of the King’s
 “being able to adjourn the *House*; and to prevent
 “the *Speaker*, by his sole Authority, to put the
 “Question when required: It would be in his
 “Power to put a Stop to all the Debates of either
 “*House*, by adjourning them whenever they took
 “into Consideration any Matters displeasing to
 “him.”

Whitelock,
pag. 12.

Rapin, Vol. X.
p. 219.

War.

Warrants were the next Day directed from the Council to nine leading Members *Denzil Hollis, Esq; Sir Miles Hobart, Sir John Elliot, Sir Peter Hayman, John Selden, Esq; Will. Coriton, Walter Long and Benj. Valentine, Esqrs.* commanding their personal Appearance the following Day: at which Time *Hollis, Elliot, Coriton* and *Valentine* appearing, and refusing to answer out of Parliament, for what was said and done in Parliament, were committed close Prisoners to the Tower: And Warrants were given for Sealing up the Studies of *Mr. Hollis, Mr. Selden* and *Sir John Elliot*, the three most formidable Members, and Proclamations issued out for the apprehending of others who did not appear." *Note*, The Parliament not being yet dissolved, these Men were still actually Members of Parliament when this Violence was committed upon them. "They were kept in Prison *seven Months* without being tried, and without being able to obtain the Benefit of the *Habeas Corpus*: and were sentenced to be imprisoned during the King's Pleasure: Moreover *Elliot* was fined 2000 Pounds, *Hollis* 1000 Marks, and *Valentine* 500 Pounds." — "All of them were imprisoned till they should pay their Fines; which Imprisonment was accompanied with some arbitrary Severities: for these Gentlemen were denied not only Pen Ink and Paper, but their Wives in their Sicknesses were refused Admittance. *Sir John Elliot*, after many Years Confinement, sunk and died under the Oppression."

If these great Patriots sometimes expressed themselves with uncommon Spirit and Ardor in their Speeches in Parliament, Lord *Clarendon* owns, "That whoever considers the Acts of Power and Injustice of some of the Ministers, in the Inter-vals

Echard, pag.

444.

Rapin, Vol. X.
p. 217.

Ibid. 222.

Hist. Stu. p.

107.

Clarend. V. I.

p. 5.

K. CHARLES I.'s *Invasions of the Privilege*

"vals of Parliament, will not be much scandalized at the Warmth and Vivacity of those Meetings."

Rapin, Vol. X.
p. 420.

"In the next Parliament " *Hen. Bellasis*, Knight for the County of *York*, and Sir *John Hotbham* were examined in Council and committed to the *Fleet*, for refusing to answer to Questions concerning Things done in Parliament."

Coke Det.
pag. 123.

"When the Commons made a Remonstrance against the King's Taking *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, not granted by Parliament, He calls it a Detracting from their Sovereign: and commands all who have or shall have any Copies of it to burn them under Pain of his Indignation and high Displeasure."

Ibid. 122.

"I do not believe, says Coke his Apologist, any King or Queen of *England*, and of the *English* Race, since *Henry III.*, ever dissolved one Parliament in Displeasure before King *James*: whereas of eight Parliaments these two Kings of the *Scottish* Race (*James* and *Charles*) dissolved seven in Displeasure: Yet never did Parliaments in any Reign demean themselves more cheerfully to any King than to these two. And I challenge any one to shew, that in any one Respect, they intrenched upon any just Prerogative of either of these Kings, or did any Act not warranted by former Precedents."

Echard, p.
453.

"In the Parliament he held in *Scotland*, Anno 1633, being present to awe their Debates in an Act relating to Ecclesiastical Affairs, His Majesty endeavoured to intimidate the House by "Drawing a List out of his Bosom and Telling them, GENTLEMEN, I have all your Names here,

Hist. Stu. p.
118.

"and I will know who will do me Service, and who will not, this Day;" "and remember both."

"The Earl of *Rothes*, and other Lords, offered to argue; but the King stopt them; bid them argue

“ argue no more, but give their Vote. Almost *Barnet, Vol. I.*
 “ the whole *Commons* voted in the Negative: So *p. 200.*
 “ that the Act was indeed *rejected* by the Majority:
 “ Which the King knew; for he had called for a
 “ List of the Numbers, and with his own Pen had
 “ mark’d every Man’s Vote: Yet the Clerk of
 “ the Register, who gathers and declares the Votes;
 “ said it was carried in the *Affirmative*. The Earl
 “ of *Rothes* affirmed it went for the *Negative*: So
 “ the King said, the Clerk of the Register’s De-
 “ claration must be held good, unless the Earl of
 “ *Rothes* would go to the Bar and accuse him of
 “ Falsifying the Record of Parliament, which was
 “ capital: And in that Case, if he should fail in
 “ the Proof, he was liable to the same Punish-
 “ ment: So he would not venture on that. Thus
 “ the Act was published, though in Truth it was
 “ rejected. The King expressed a high Displea-
 “ sure at all who had concurred in that Opposi-
 “ tion. Upon that the Lords had many Meet-
 “ ings: they reckoned that now all their Liber-
 “ ties were gone; and a Parliament was but a Piece
 “ of Pageantry, if the Clerk of the Register might
 “ declare as he pleased how the Vote went, and
 “ that no Scrutiny were allowed.”

In May 1641, above a Year before the War be-
 twixt the King and Parliament broke out, “ a
 “ treacherous Design was set on Foot, not with-
 “ out the Participation of the King, as appeared
 “ under his *own Hand*, to bring up the *English*
 “ Army and by Force to dissolve the Parliament, *Ludlow’s*
 “ the Plunder of *London* being promised to the *Mem. p. 15.*
 “ Officers and Soldiers as a Reward for that Ser-
 “ vice. This was confessed by Lord *Goring*, Mr.
 “ *Piercy* and others. The *Scot’s* Army was also
 “ tried, and the four Northern Counties (*Nor-*
 “ *thumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland and Dur-*
 “ *ham*) offered to be given them, if they would
 “ undertake the same Design.” The Earl of *Hol-*
 land,

Clarend. *Vol.*
II. p. 290.

land, the King's own General, acknowledged, "That
" he found there had been strange Attempts made
" to pervert and corrupt the Army; but he
" doubted not he should be able to prevent any
" Mischief."

Rapin, *Vol.*
XI. p. 305.

" The Conspiracy to seduce the Army plainly
" enough shew'd the King's Designs. He so evi-
" dently violated the Privileges of Parliament (in
" the Bill for Pressing of Soldiers) that there was
" not a single Member in both Houses but what
" was persuaded of the Reality of this Viola-
" tion."

Ibid. *p.* 308,
311, 312.

But that which finished the Breach, and opened
a Floodgate to all the Miseries which ensued, was
" a Step which the King took, the most impru-
" dent and most fatal to his Affairs that he could
" possibly take in such a Juncture. *Jan. 3, 1641-2,*
" He sent Sir *Ed. Herbert* Attorney-General to
" the House of Peers, with Orders to accuse of
" High-Treason the Lord *Kimbolton* and five
" Commons, *Denzil Hollis, Sir Arthur Haslerig,*
" *John Pym, John Hambden* and *Will. Stroud*.—
" At the same Time Officers were sent to their
" several Houses to seal up their Trunks, Doors
" and Papers. Whereupon the *Commons* order'd
" their Serjeant to go and break open the Seals
" and apprehend those that put them on.—The
" Peers also made an Order to open the Doors
" and Trunks of the Members of both *Houses*
" which were sealed: and resolved to join with
" the *Commons* in a Petition to the King for a
" Guard, and to represent to his Majesty that the
" Privileges of Parliament had been violated. A
" Serjeant at Arms came to the House of *Com-*
" *mons* from the King and required the *five Mem-*
" *bers* accused by his Majesty. The *Commons* ap-
" pointed some of their Members to wait upon
" the King and acquaint him, *That his Message*
was

" was a Matter of great Consequence; that it concerns the Privilege of Parliament and of all the Commons of ENGLAND: that they will take it into Consideration, and attend his Majesty with an Answer. In the mean Time the five Members shall be ready to answer any legal Charge made against them.

" The King understanding that the Commons Whitelock, had voted against the Arrest or Seizure of their p. 50, 51.

" Members, went himself the next Morning to the House, guarded with his Pensioners, and followed by about 200 of Courtiers and Soldiers of Fortune, most of them arm'd with Swords and Pistols. The Vote of the House declares them to be 500 armed Men, Papists and Soldiers, who came with the King. The five Members receiving secret Notice from a great Court Lady their Friend, got out of the House just as the King came." — " They were hardly gone out, when his Majesty appeared, and as he passed up towards the Chair said, *By your Leave* Rapin, Vol. XI. p. 314.

" Mr. Speaker I must borrow your Chair a little. Looking round he said,—*As long as these Persons that I have accused are here, I cannot expect that this House will be in the right Way: Therefore I am come to tell You that I must have them wheresoever I find them. Well, since I see all the Birds are flown, I do expect them from You, that You shall send them unto me, as soon as they return hither.*" — " As his Majesty was going out, many Members cried out aloud so as he might hear them, *Privilege! Privilege!* The House was in a terrible Pannick while the King was in the Chair, the Door of the House and all the Avenues being crowded with Officers and Soldiers. Neal, Vol. II. pag. 533.

" Upon the King's going away the House adjourned in a Flame for some Days, ordering a
" Com-

Welw. Mem.
pag. 64.

“ mittee to sit in *Guild-Hall*, in the mean Time.
“ Whoever they were that advised the King to
“ this *rash Attempt*, are justly chargeable with *all*
“ the *Blood* that was afterwards spilt; for this sud-
“ den Action was the *first* and *visible* Ground of
“ all our following Miseries. It was believed that
“ if the King had found the *five Members* in the
“ House, and had called in his Guards to seize
“ them, the *House* would have endeavoured their
“ Defence, and opposed *Force to Force*; which
“ might have endangered the King's Person. But
“ the Consequences were bad enough without this;
“ for immediately upon it there was nothing but
“ Confusion and Tumult; Fears and Jealousies
“ every where.”

Tindal's
Int. p. 7.

“ So notorious a Breach could not but be of
“ infinite Disadvantage to the King; being looked
“ upon as equal to a *Dissolution* of the Parlia-
“ ment. Since he might, they said, upon the
“ same Grounds as well seize 500, as 5 Members.
“ Wherefore it not only produced an Union in
“ both Houses, but was a plain Indication that
“ the King would assuredly be revenged of such
“ Members as had given him Offence, when-
“ ever it should be in his Power; which Consider-
“ ation determined the leading Men to tie up his
“ Hands for the future by Abridging the Prero-
“ gative.”

“ The Truth is, says Lord *Clarendon*, it cannot
“ be expressed how great a Change there appear-
“ ed to be in the Countenance and Minds of all
“ Sorts of People, in Town and Country, upon
“ these late Proceedings of the King.—All that
“ had been formerly said of Plots and Conspira-
“ cies against the Parliament, was now thought
“ true and real. All that had been whispered of
“ *Ireland*, was now talked aloud and printed.
“ The Shops of the City were generally shut up,
“ as

“ as if
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“ as if an Enemy were at their Gates ; and the People in all Places at a Gaze. On the other Side ; they who had the greatest Courage and Alacrity opposed all seditious Practices, between Grief and Anger were confounded with the Consideration of what had been done and what was like to follow. But above all, the Anger and Indignation was very great and general, that to all the other Oversight and Presumptions was added, the Exposing the Dignity and Majesty and Safety of the King, in his Coming in Person, in that Manner, to the House of Commons ; and in Going the next Day, as he did, to the *Guild-Hall* and to the Lord Mayor’s, which drew such Reproaches upon him to his Face.”

Clarend. Vol.

II. p. 377.

378.

“ The King quickly after this retired from London to *Hampton-Court*. The Parliament received Information, that *George Lord Digby* was in Arms at *Kingston* upon *Thames*, attended with several Officers: Whereupon both Houses use Precautions to hinder the King from becoming Master of *Portsmouth*, and send *Sir John Horham* to secure *Hull*.” And both Sides prepare for War.

Tindal’s Sum.

p. 124.

CHAP. VII.

Other arbitrary and oppressive Measures: Which were Invasions of the Nation’s Rights, and subversive of the CONSTITUTION.

“ HE sent over 30,000 Pounds to the *Netherlands* to raise *German Horse* with Arms to be brought to *England* for his Service.” —
“ *Burlemack* (by whom the Money was remitted)
“ being

Echard, p.

434.

Rapin, *V. X* "being called before the House confessed, he had
p. 179. "received the Money by Privy Seal for the Buy-
 "ing of Horses; that a thousand of them were
 "levied; that those Horses and their Riders were
 "to come over, and Arms provided for them in
 "*Holland.*" But this was timely prevented.

Clarend. *Vol.* "The Counties throughout the Kingdom, Lord
I. p. 40. "*Clarendon* sais, were so incensed, that they re-
 "fused to suffer Soldiers to be billeted upon
 "them; by which they often underwent greater
 "Inconveniencies and Mischiefs, than they en-
 "deavoured to prevent. The Endeavour to raise
 "Soldiers by Pressing, found Opposition in many
 "Places, as being counted illegal. This produ-
 "ced a Resort to *martial Law*, by which many
 "were executed; which raised an Asperity in
 "Minds of more than the common People. Nor
 "was there a Serenity in the Countenance of any
 "Man, who had Age and Experience enough to
 "consider Things to come.—"

Rapin, *Vol.*
X. p. 113.

"The King billeted Soldiers upon private
 "Houses, contrary to the constant Custom of
 "*England*, where all but such as keep Publick
 "Houses have the Privilege of not being obliged
 "to lodge Soldiers against their Will. Those who
 "shewed Backwardness to lend the King Money,
 "were not spared on this Occasion: and the Sol-
 "diers quartered on them took Care to let them
 "see what they exposed themselves to by dis-
 "obeying the King. Moreover, such as were
 "Sufferers by these troublesome Guests, could
 "not summon them before the usual Judges; but
 "by the King's express Order, they were obliged
 "to apply to a Council of War; so that the Of-
 "ficers were the sole Judges of their Soldiers."
 "In the Year 1639 (above two Years before the
 "War betwixt the King and Parliament broke
 "out) the King's Army being ordered to rende-
 "vous

"vouze at *York*, in their March thither many In-
 "solencies, Robberies and Murthers were com-
 "mitted by the Soldiers, in the Countries where
 "they passed, to the further Discontent of a great
 "Number of the King's faithful Subjects."

"He is a great Stranger sais Lord *Falkland* (a *Rush. V. IV.*
 "very zealous *Royalist*) who knows not that this *p. 134.*
 "Kingdom hath long laboured under many and
 "great Oppressions both in Religion and Li-
 "berty."

"The *Judges* of the Realm being all chosen by *Rapin, Vol.*
 "the Court, and devoted to the King, omitted *X. p. 247.*
 "no Opportunity to support the Prerogative-Roy-
 "al, and raise it as high as the King desired.
 "The Parliament only could cure these Disorders,
 "but the King was determined to call no more."

—"The *Judges* held their Places during the *Neal, Vol. II.*
 "King's Pleasure: and when the Prerogative was *p. 157.*
 "to be stretched above Law, in any particular
 "Instances; *Laud* would send to them for their
 "Opinions before Hand, by whom they were
 "often put in Mind that if they did not do his Ma-
 "jesty's Business to Satisfaction, they would be re-
 "moved."

"Some Constables and others, committed by *Whitelock's*
 "the Council, and bringing their *Habeas Corpora, Mem. p. 13.*
 "were removed from Pursevant to Pursevant,
 "and could have no Benefit of the Law."

"The Damage and Mischief, sais Lord *Clarend. Vol.*
 "*rendon*, cannot be expressed, which the Crown
 "and State sustained by the deserved Reproach
 "and Infamy that attended the Judges—and the
 "Irreverence and Scorn they were justly in: there
 "being no Possibility to preserve the Dignity,
 "Reverence and Estimation of the Laws them-
 "selves, but by the Integrity and Innocence of
 "the Judges.—In the Business of Ship-Money, *I. p. 72, 73.*
 "and many other Cases in the *Star-Chamber* and

“ at the *Council-Board*, there were many Impertinencies, Incongruities and Insolencies, in the Speeches and Orations of the Judges, much more offensive, and much more scandalous than the Judgments and Sentences themselves.”

Finding *Parliaments* a Restraint upon his arbitrary Measures, though an *essential* Part of our Constitution, he resolves to lay them aside, and accordingly in 1628 publishes a Proclamation declaring his Royal Pleasure that the Spreaders of false Reports shall be severely punished: that he will not overcharge his Subjects with any new Burdens, but will satisfy himself with the Duties received by his Royal Father; which he neither *can* nor *will* dispense with (though not granted by Parliament) and whereas for ill Ends the Calling another Parliament is divulged, his Majesty declares, that the late Abuse having for the present driven him unwillingly out of that Course, he shall account it Presumption for any to prescribe any Time to his Majesty for Parliaments; the Calling, Continuing and Dissolving of which is always in the King's Power.

“ Here then was an End of the old *English* Government by *King, Lords* and *Commons* for 12 Years. *England* was now an *absolute Monarchy*: The King's Proclamations and Orders of Council were the Laws of the Land: The Ministers of State sported themselves in the most wanton Acts of arbitrary Power: and the Religion, Laws and Liberties of our Country lay prostrate, being swallowed up by an Inundation of Popery and Oppression.”

After 12 Years Interruption of Parliaments, the King is compelled by his second War with the *Scots* to call another. “ It consisted, Lord Clarendon

Clarend. Vol. I. p. 139.

“ *don* fais, of Men than whom more *sober* and *dispassionate* could never be hoped to meet in that

“ Place.

" Place. Though it had not sat above fix or seven Days, and had managed all their Debates, and their whole Behaviour with wonderful Order and Sobriety, the Court was impatient that no Advance was made towards a Supply." *Clarend. Vol. I. p. 134.*

And the Parliament not complying with the King's exorbitant Demand, of twelve Subsidies to be paid in three Years, so readily as he expected, he hastily and most impolitickly dissolves them. " There could not, says the noble Historian, a greater Damp have seized upon the Spirits of the whole Nation, than this Dissolution caused; and Men had much of the Misery in View, which shortly after fell out. Nor could any Man imagine, what Offence they had given which put the King upon that Resolution." But though the Parliament was dissolved, the King, by a new Commission, continued the Convocation sitting: " A *Hist. Stu. p. 148.*

" Thing which was monstrous in the Eyes of all those who had ever looked upon the Law." " It made Canons, which was thought it might do; and gave Subsidies out of Parliament, and enjoined Oaths, which certainly it might not do: " In a Word, it did many Things which in the best of Times might have been questioned, and therefore were sure to be condemned in the worst, and drew the same Prejudice upon the whole Body of the Clergy, to which before only some few Clergymen were exposed." It enjoined an Oath upon all the Clergy and their Dependants that they would never consent to alter the Government of the Church by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, &c. for Refusing which, Goodman Bishop of Gloucester was suspended and committed to Prison. *Faller, B. XI. p. 171.*

" In the Reigns of Edward II and Richard II, Coke Det. p. 135.

" tho' the Grievances of the Nation were more in one Year of this King's Reign, than in both their

their Reigns; yet both were expelled and lost their Lives, their Subjects not drawing a Sword in their Defence.

CHAP. VIII.

The King weak in religious Matters, and much inclined to Superstition.

Rapin, Vol.
X. pag. 35.

Hist. Stü. pag.
82.

Whitelocke's
Mem. pag. 84.

THE Nature of his future Government was but too manifestly shewn in that extraordinary Admonition which Laud had the Confidence to give, and the KING the Weakness to receive at his Coronation, never before used at that Ceremony. "The King seated upon his Throne and ready to receive the Homages of the Lords, Laud came up to him, and said, STAND, and bold fast from henceforth the Place to which you have been Heir by the Succession of your Forefathers, being now delivered to you by the Authority of ALMIGHTY GOD; and by the Hands of us, and of all the BISHOPS and Servants of GOD. And as you see the CLERGY to come nearer his Altar than others, so remember that in all Places convenient you give them greater Honour; that the Mediator of GOD and Man may establish you in the Kingly Throne, to be a Mediator betwixt the Clergy and the Laity; and that you may reign for ever with JESUS CHRIST, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords."—"That Part of the ancient Coronation Oath, That the King should consent to such Laws as the People should chuse was struck out; and the Words saving the King's Royal Prerogative inserted; which Whitelocke affirms to be done by the Management of Laud.

" Lord

“ Lord *Clarendon* was wont to say, that when
 “ he came to the Crown he expressed himself
 “ very willing to restore the Revenues to the
 “ *Ecclesiasticks*, which King *Henry VIII* had dis- *Crit. Hist.*
 “ posed of amongst the Nobility. — He made a *Eng. pag. 73.*
 “ solemn Vow, that if God should restore him to
 “ his Kingly Rights, he would give back to the
 “ Church all those *Impropriations*, which are now *Echard, pag.]*
 “ held by the Crown : and what Lands soever *624.*
 “ I do now, or should enjoy, which have been
 “ taken away from any *Episcopal* See, or any
 “ *Cathedral* or *Collegiate* Church, or from any
 “ *Abby* or religious House.

The High Office of *Lord Treasurer* being vacant,
 “ the Eyes of all Men were at a Gaze who should
 “ have it, and the greatest of the Nobility, who
 “ were in the chiefest Employments, looked upon
 “ it as the Price of one of them ; when on a sud-
 “ dain, it was put into the Hands of (*Dr. Juxon*)
 “ the *Bishop of London* ; a Man so unknown, that *Clarend. Vol.*
 “ his Name was scarce heard of in the Kingdom ; *I. pag. 99.*
 “ who had been, within two Years before, but a
 “ private Chaplain to the King, and the President
 “ of a poor College in *Oxford*. This inflamed
 “ more Men than were angry before—and indis-
 “ posed many towards the Church itself ; which
 “ they looked upon as the *Gulph* ready to swal-
 “ low all the great Offices ; there being others
 “ in View of that Robe, who were ambitious
 “ enough to expect the rest.” “ In the Levying *Whitelocke's*
 “ of *Ship-Money* great Care was taken to favour *Mem. pag. 22.*
 “ the Clergy.”

“ His Majesty concerned himself very particu-
 “ larly by an Order in Council to remove the *Com-*
 “ *munion Tables* from the Middle of the Church,
 “ where they usually stood, and to place them *Neal, Vol. II.*
 “ at the *East End* in Form of an Altar—All the *pag. 255, 258.*
 “ King's Chaplains, and even the common Peo-

" ple, were enjoined Bowing to the Altar; not only
 " in Time of Divine Service, but at their going in
 " and out of the Church: By a new Body of
 " Statutes, confirmed by the *Great Seal*, the Dean
 " and Prebendaries of *Canterbury* were obliged by
 " *Oath* to observe this Ceremony: And to make
 " the Adoration the more significant, the Altars
 " in Cathedrals were adorned with the most pom-
 " pous Furniture, and all the Vessels had a so-
 " lemn Consecration. That of *Canterbury* was fur-
 " nished according to a Model taken from the
 " *Roman Missal*, with two *Candlesticks* and *Tapers*,
 " a *Basin* for Oblations, a *Cushion* for the Service-
 " Book, a *Silver-gilt Canister* for the Wafers, lined
 " with Cambrick Lace, the *Tonne* on a Cradle, a
 " *Chalice* with the Image of CHRIST, two *Patins*
 " or Plates, the *Tricanale* a round Ball out of
 " which issued three Pipes for the Water of Mix-
 " ture, a *Credentia*, a *Basin* and *Ewer* on Napkins,
 " a *Towel* for Washing before Consecration, &c.
 " Upon some Altars there was a *Pot*, called the
 " *Incense Pot*, and a *Knife* to cut the Sacramental
 " Bread: All which were consecrated with a great
 " deal of Pomp and ridiculous Solemnity.

Neal, Vol. II.

pag. 224, 225.

" Images of GOD the Father, of the Holy
 " Ghost, of the Virgin *Mary*, with Angels lift-
 " ing her up to Heaven with this Inscription,
 " *Hail Mary, Spouse of GOD*, were carefully kept
 " up: Copes of Mass Priests were bought, with
 " Crucifixes and Images of the Trinity embroi-
 " dered upon them: Consecrated Knives and great
 " Numbers of lighted Candles upon the Altars
 " on *Sundays* and *Saints Days*. On *Candlemas-day*
 " there were no less than 200 in the Cathedral of
 " *Durham*, of which 60 were upon or about the
 " Altar. These were reckoned amongst the *Beau-*
 " *ties of the Sanctuary*." " New Images and Orna-
 " ments, says Lord Commissioner *Whitelock*, other

Whitelocke,

pag. 17.

" than formerly were set up ; to the Discontent of
 " many Persons." — " These Fopperies, Bishop
 " Kennet observes, lost both the King and the
 " Bishops the Hearts and Affections of the Protef-
 " tant Part of the Nation." — " The Prelates, says Ld.
 " Faulkland, a zealous Royalist, brought in Supersti-
 " tion and Scandal under the Titles of Reverence
 " and Decency: and defiled our Church, by a-
 " dorning our Churches.

Nelson,
Coll. &c. Vol. I.
 p. 768.
 Apud Wi-
 thers.

Laud indeed was the chief Actor in these su-
 perstitious Extravagancies ; but as he acted by the
 Power and was supported by the Authority, so he
 perfectly knew the Sentiments and Pleasure of the
 KING. Archdeacon Echard therefore assures us

" That in all LAUD's Attempts for the Advancement
 " and Grandeur of the Church of ENGLAND ; and
 " for the Bringing it to a Kind of Rivalship of the
 " Church of ROME he had the hearty Concurrence
 " of the KING. Which Lord Clarendon also as-
 "serts.

Echard, pag.
 454.
 Clarend. Vol.
 I. p. 92.

" Kneeling at the Sacrament, Wearing the Sur-
 " plice, Confirmation, Keeping of Saints Days, Pro-
 " cessions, Bowings to the Altar, &c. were pressed
 " by the Bishops with the same Eagerness as if
 " Religion must have fallen with them, and as if
 " they were absolutely necessary to Salvation.—

" Now as the King never failed to approve of
 " what was enjoined by the Bishops, many sus-
 " pected the King's Authority was made Use of
 " to support these seemingly inconsiderable Inno-
 " vations with a Design to take Advantage of the
 " same Authority to justify Alterations of much
 " greater Consequence."

Rapin, Vol.
 X. p. 276, 277.

" Hence, Lord Clarendon observes, proceeded
 " a Schism amongst the Bishops themselves, and
 " a great deal of Uncharitableness in the learned
 " and moderate Clergy, towards one another.

Clarend. Vol. I.
p. 97.

“ For many who loved the established Govern-
“ ment of the Church, yet liked not any Novel-
“ ties, and so were liable to entertain Jealousies
“ that more was intended than was hitherto pro-
“ posed: especially when those Infusions came
“ from Men unsuspected of any Inclinations to
“ change, and known Assertors of the Govern-
“ ment both in Church and State. They observ-
“ ed also that the inferior Clergy took more upon
“ them than they were wont; and did not live
“ towards their Neighbours of Quality, or their
“ Patrons themselves, with that Civility and Con-
“ descention they had used to do.”

Whitelock's
Mem. p. 22.

“ In the Censure of *Bastwick*, all the Bishops
“ then present, denied openly that they held their
“ Jurisdiction, as *Bishops*, from the KING; for
“ which they might, perhaps, have been censured
“ themselves in *Henry II's* or *Edward III's* Times.
“ They affirmed, *they had their Jurisdiction from*
“ *GOD only*, which Denial of the Supremacy of
“ the King under *GOD*, *Henry VIII* would have
“ taken ill: but these *Bishops* publickly disavowed
“ their Dependence on the King.”

Ibid. p. 16:

A great many learned and excellent Clergymen
for venturing to preach against the Superstitions
and Innovations then introduced, were silenc'd and
otherwise severely punish'd. “ In the University
“ of *Oxford* several were proceeded against; di-
“ vers censured, and some expelled the Universi-
“ ty for Preaching against *Arminianism* and other
“ Points of Religion then in Controversie.”—

Neal, Vol. II.
p. 233.

“ *Henry Shorfield*, Esq; Recorder of *Sarum*, was
“ tried in the *Star-Chamber* for prophanely Taking
“ down some painted Glass out of one of the
“ Windows of *St. Edmund's Church* in *Salisbury*,
“ in which were seven Pictures of *GOD the Fa-*
“ *ther*, in Form of a little old Man, in a blue
“ and red Coat, with a Pouch by his Side and a
“ Pair

" Pair of Compasses creating the Sun and the
 " Moon : at these many simple People at their
 " Going in and out of the Church did their *Reve-*
 " *rence*, because they said *the LORD their GOD*
 " *was there.*" — " The Recorder proved in his
 " Defence, that the Church of St. *Edmund's* was
 " a *Lay-Fee* ; and legally exempted from the Ju-
 " risdiction of the Bishop : that consequently those Rapin, Vol. X.
 " who had purchased the Church had lawful p. 260.
 " Power to alter the Windows : He set forth the
 " gross Blunders of the Painter, and proved by
 " Acts of Parliament made in the Reigns of *Ed-*
 " *ward VI* and *Elizabeth* that all Pictures should
 " be removed out of Churches." — " He alleged
 " that it was agreed by the Parishioners at a
 " Vestry, at which were present six Justices of Neal, Vol. II.
 " the Peace, that the Glass should be changed ; p. 234.
 " and that accordingly he took down a Quarry or
 " two in a quiet and peaceable Manner." — " *Laud*
 " said he did not pretend to justify the Errors of
 " the Painter, but observed, that GOD being
 " called in Scripture *the antient of Days* might Rapin, Vol. X.
 " lead him into it. But that *Sborfield* was much p. 61, 62.
 " more to blame than the Painter, for daring to
 " make Alterations without Licence. In short,
 " *Sborfield* was sentenced to pay *five Hundred*
 " Pounds (*Laud* would have had it a *Thousand*
 " Pounds :) to make a publick Acknowledgment
 " of his Fault, before such Persons as the Bishop
 " should please to name : to be committed (close
 " Prisoner) to the *Fleet* : to be removed from his
 " *Recordership* ; and be bound to his good Beha-
 " viour."

C H A P. IX.

The King manifestly labours a Coalition with the Church of Rome, and strongly favours Popery.

IT is now evident that *James I* (the Father of King *Charles*, under whom he was educated, and for whose Maxims and Conduct he always expressed the highest Veneration) was strongly inclined, if not actually reconciled, to the Church of *Rome*. "This appears from his secret Treaty with the King of *Spain* in 1596, managed by *John Ogleby* a *Scotch* Baron, who declared to his *Catholick* Majesty, that King *James* would turn *Catholick*, and enter into a Confederacy with his *Holiness* (the Pope) and his *Catholick* Majesty against the Queen of *England*, and produced a Letter of Credence of the said King *James*, presenting a Memorial of the Reasons that induced him, the King of *Scotland*, to be reconciled to the *See Apostolick*. This Transaction is mentioned by none of our Historians. The Papers relating to this Affair were found amongst Sir *R. Winwood's*; which the Reader may see in the Collection of State Papers lately published by *Edm. Sayer, Esq*; Vol. I. p. 11." Mons. *Dageant's* Memoirs and the Archbishop of *Embrun's* Narrative of his own Conference with King *James* put his good Affection to the Popish Religion beyond all reasonable Doubt.

This Prince (*Charles*) formed under such a Father, when negotiating his Marriage with the Princess of *Spain* at *Madrid*, wrote with his own Hand "a Letter to POPE *Gregory XV.* (who had written to him, exhorting him to come into the Bosom of the Church, and imitate his glorious

" Ancestors,

Rapin, Vol. X.
p. 274.

“ Ancestors, who had done so great Things for
 “ the Defence of Religion). In which Letter he
 “ addressees him —MOST HOLY FATHER—and Rapin, Vol.
 “ sais—*It was an unspeakable Pleasure to me to read* IX. p. 535.
 “ *the generous Exploits of the Kings my Predecessors*
 “ —*I believe your HOLINESS hath set their Ex-*
 “ *ample before my Eyes to the End that I may imitate*
 “ *them in all my Actions; for in Truth they have*
 “ *often exposed their Estates and Lives for the Ex-*
 “ *altation of the HOLY CHAIR.—I do not esteem*
 “ *it a greater Honour to be descended from so great*
 “ *Princes, than to imitate them in the Zeal of their*
 “ *Piety.—I intreat your HOLINESS to believe, that I*
 “ *have been always far from encouraging Novelties, or*
 “ *to be a Partisan of any Faction against the Catho-*
 “ *lick, Apostolick, ROMAN Religion—and I will employ*
 “ *myself for the Time to come, to have but one Re-*
 “ *ligion and one Faith, seeing that we all believe in*
 “ *one JESUS CHRIST: Having resolved in myself to*
 “ *spare nothing I have in the World, and to suffer*
 “ *all Manner of Discommodities, even to the haz-*
 “ *arding my Estate and Life, for a Thing so plea-*
 “ *sing to GOD.”* There is another Copy of this
 Letter in *Rapin*; in which the Expressions are
 more qualified: but which is the most authen-
 tic, seems not easy to determine.

What the Sentiments of this Prince, *Charles I*,
 were of the *Popish* Religion, and how he stood af-
 fected to it, may farther be seen in the Articles of
 the Marriage Treaty, to which he sign'd and so-
 lemnly swore.

“ *Articles 5, 6, 7, 8, provide:—That the*
 “ *Princess, his intended Spouse, her Men-Servants*
 “ *and Maid-Servants, their Children, Descendants,* Ibid. Vol. IX.
 “ *Servants and all their Families, of what Sort* p. 544.
 “ *soever, serving Her Highness, may be freely*
 “ *and publickly Catholicks. That she shall have*
 “ *in her Palace a Chapel, and near her Palace a*
 “ *publick*

“ publick and capacious Church, adorned as she
 “ shall think convenient,” i. e. with Popish De-
 “ corations and Utenfils.

“ *Articles* 10, 11, 18, Allow her twenty-four
 “ Priests and Assistants, with a *Bishop* over them,
 “ exercising episcopal Authority and Jurisdiction:
 “ wearing their Vestments and Habits according
 “ to the Custom of *Rome*.

“ *Article* 13, provides that the Princess and
 “ her Servants may procure from *Rome* Dispensa-
 “ tions, Indulgences, Jubilees and all Graces and
 “ all Manner of *Catholick* Books whatsoever.

“ *Article* 16, That the Laws against Catholicks
 “ in *England* or any other Part of the King's Do-
 “ minions, shall not extend to the Children of
 “ this Marriage: and though they be Catholicks
 “ they shall not lose the Right of Succession to
 “ the Kingdom.

“ *Articles* 17, 20, That the Nurses for the
 “ Children shall be chosen by the Princess: and
 “ both Sons and Daughters shall be brought up
 “ under her Care, at least till the Age of *ten*
 “ *Years*.” It was afterward enlarged to *thirteen*
 “ *Years*.

Besides these, He swore also to four *private* Ar-
 “ ticles. “ I. That no Laws made against *Roman*
 “ *Catholicks* shall at any Time hereafter, by any
 “ Means or Chance whatsoever, directly or indi-
 “ rectly, be commanded to be put in Execution.
 “ II. That no other Laws shall hereafter be made
 “ anew against them: but there shall be a perpe-
 “ tual *Toleration* of the *Roman Catholick* Religion
 “ within private Houses throughout all his Do-
 “ minions. III. That he will never, either by
 “ himself or any other Person whatsoever, directly
 “ or indirectly, treat or attempt any Thing with
 “ the Princess which shall be repugnant to the *Ro-*
 “ *mish* Religion: nor by any Means persuade her
 “ to

Rapin, Vol.
 IX. p. 548.

“ to relinquish or renounce it. IV. That He will
 “ use all his Authority and Influence to have all
 “ and singular these Articles in Favour of the Ro-
 “ *man Catholicks* ratified and confirmed by Parlia-
 “ ment; and to have the Laws against them
 “ revoked: and that no new Laws should ever
 “ hereafter be enacted against them.”

The Words of the *Oath* were these,——“ I
 “ *Charles* engage myself, that all Things contained
 “ in the foregoing Articles, which concern as well
 “ the Suspension as the Abrogation of all Laws
 “ made against *Roman Catholicks*, shall within *three* Neal, Vol. II.
 “ *Years* infallibly take Effect, and sooner if possi- p. 142.
 “ ble; which we will have to lie upon our Con-
 “ science and Royal Honour. — Furthermore, as
 “ oft as the Princess shall desire that I should give
 “ Ear to Divines and others whom her Highness
 “ shall be pleased to employ in Matters of the
 “ *Romish* Religion, I will hearken to them will-
 “ ingly, without all Difficulty, and laying aside all
 “ Excuse.”

These were the Articles of the *Spanish Match*,
 which was just ready to be consummated. “ In
 “ the Marriage with the Daughter of *France*, the Rapin, Vol.
 “ same (or rather greater) Advantages were stipu- IX. p. 596.
 “ lated for the *Catholicks*. It was agreed to be
 “ celebrated according to *the Form* of the Church
 “ of *Rome*; and ratified in *England* without the
 “ Intervention of any *Church-Ceremony*. And the
 “ Children, which should be born, were to be
 “ brought up by their Mother till *thirteen* Years
 “ of Age. This last Article was of very bad
 “ Consequence to *England*: It had very near been
 “ the Ruin of Church and State.”

In Prosecution of the great Design of *Recon-*
ciling the two Churches of *England* and *Rome*,
 or of Bringing the *former* to a State of Rival-
 ship or Resemblance of the *latter*,——“ *Laud*,
 “ visiting

Neal, Vol. II.
p. 282.

“visiting the University of Oxford for the King,
“made a new Body of Statutes; in the Preface
“to which he severely reflects on the good King
“Edward VI and his Government, and saies,
“*That the Discipline of the University was discom-*
“*posed and troubled by that King's Injunctions and*
“*the flattering Novelty of the Age.* It then com-
“mends the Reign of his Sister, the bloody Queen
“Mary, and saies, *That the Discipline of the Church*
“*revived and flourished again in her Days, under*
“*Cardinal Pool; when, by the much desired Felicity*
“*of those Times, an inbred Candour supplied the*
“*Defect of Statutes.*” Note, The Reformation
under King Edward is here stiled a *flattering No-*
velty: and the Discipline and Times of Queen
Mary and Cardinal Pool, a much desired *Felicity*.

Rapin, Vol. X.
p. 14, 17, 40,
204.

“Dr. Montague, one of the King's Chaplains,
“had in several Books publickly maintained that
“the Church of ROME had ever remained firm upon
“the same Foundation of Sacraments and Doctrines
“instituted by GOD. That the controverted Points
“between the Church of ENGLAND and Church
“of ROME are of a lesser and inferior Nature; of
“which a Man may be ignorant without any Danger
“of his Soul at all. That IMAGES may be used
“for the Instruction of the Ignorant, and Excitation
“of Devotion. That there are Titular Saints as
“well as Angels.—He was called to the Bar of
“the House of Commons and severely reprimanded
“by them, and admonished by his Archbishop
“(Abbot) but the King so much approved and
“favoured him that he advanced him to the Bi-
“shoprick of Chichester.”—“He took Monta-
“gue to be his Chaplain (saies Coke) a virulent,
“seditious, ill-natur'd Fellow, to protect him
“from his Contempt against his Metropolitan and
“the Parliament, for publishing new fangled O-
“pinions to the Disturbance of the Peace of
“Church

" Church and State: And when the Commons Coke Det.
" questioned *Montague* for them, the King took p. 20.

" Part with him against them: alleging that he
" had taken the Business into his own Hands:
" whereas he took *Montague* into his Power, to
" protect him from the Justice of them and his
" Metropolitan, but never took other Notice of
" *Montague's* Business."

" Dr. *Cofins* (afterward Bishop of *Durham*) af-
" firms in one of his Sermons *that when our Re-*
" *formers took away the Mass they marr'd all Re-*
" *ligion; but that the Mass was not taken away,*
" *in as much as the real Presence of CHRIST re-*
" *main'd still, otherwise it were not a reform'd but a*
" *deform'd Religion.* And to persuade a Papist to Neal, Vol. II.
" come to Church he told him, *The Body of Christ* p. 302.

" *was substantially and really in the Sacrament.* This
" Divine printed also a Book of Devotion in Imi-
" tation of the *Roman Horary*: containing the
" Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the seven Sacra-
" ments, the eight Beatitudes, the seven deadly
" Sins, &c. this Book was licens'd by the Bishop
" of *London* and publickly sold, when those of
" the most resolute Protestants were (by Authori-
" ty) suppress'd."

" Mr. *Adams* in a Sermon at St. Mary's in Cam-
" bridge asserted the Expediency of auricular Con-
" fession, saying, *It was as necessary to Salvation as*
" *Meat is to the Body.* Others preached up the
" Doctrine of Penance, of authoritative Priestly Ibid. p. 303.
" Absolution for Sin, and of the Merit of good
" Works. Others, that in the Sacrament of the
" Supper there was a full and proper Sacrifice for
" Sin. Some declared for Images, Crucifixes and
" Pictures in Churches; for Purgatory, and for
" Preserving, Reverencing, and even Praying to
" the Reliques of Saints." " The greatest Part of
" the Controversy, says *Heylin*, between us and
" the

*Life of Chil-
lingworth, p.
113.
Note (A A.)*

*Whitelock,
Mem. p. 72.*

*Rushw. Vol.
IV. p. 184.*

“ the Church of *Rome* not being in Fundamentals,
“ or in any essential Points of the Christian Reli-
“ gion, I cannot otherwise look upon it but as a
“ most Christian and pious Work to endeavour an
“ Attonement in the Superstructure.” — “ It must
“ be acknowledged, proceeds that *Doctor*, that
“ the Professors of the *Church of England*, especi-
“ ally those of greatest Worth, Learning and Au-
“ thority love Temper and Moderation; that the
“ Doctrines are altered in many Things, as, *The*
“ *Pope not Antichrist, Pictures, Free-will, inherent*
“ *Righteousness, the Merit of good Works*; the
“ 39 Articles seeming patient if not ambitious al-
“ so of some *Catholic* Sense. Our Churches be-
“ gin to look with a new Face, their Walls to
“ speak a new Language, and some of our Di-
“ vines to teach that the Church hath Authority
“ in determining Controversies of Faith, and in-
“ terpreting the Scriptures; and that for the Ex-
“ position of Scripture we are bound by Canon to
“ follow the Fathers.

“ By Letters intercepted, sais *Whitelock*, it ap-
“ peared that by Authority from the Pope, a new
“ Popish Hierarchy by *Bishops, &c.* was to be set
“ up in all Counties in *England*, and Letters sent
“ to *Rome* about the same.

“ Mr. *Speaker* (sais Lord *Faulkland*, a most
“ zealous and active Friend of the King) it seems
“ to have been their Work (speaking of some
“ *Prelates* and their Adherents) to try how much
“ of a *Papist* might be brought in without *Po-
“ pery*: and to destroy as much as they could of
“ the *Gospel*, without bringing themselves into
“ Danger of being destroyed by the *Law*. To
“ go yet further; some of them have laboured
“ so industriously to deduce themselves from *Rome*,
“ that they have given great Suspicion that in
“ Gratitude they desire to return thither, or at
“ least

“ least
“ labour
“ *Roma*
“ and
“ Obed
“ of th
“ posed
“ settle
“ comm
“ none
“ the
“ *Engla*
“ cordia
“ *Ann.*
“ *Po*
“ only
“ tenan
“ They
“ *Houfe*
“ titude
“ by A
Account
“ upon
“ Parts
“ gentle
“ jects
“ Coun
“ forme
“ and E
“ entert
“ edly
“ temp
“ weak
“ stance
“ Charit
“ longe
“ only
“ Prom

“ least to meet it half Way. Some have evidently
 “ laboured to bring in an *English*, though not a
 “ *Roman* Popery : I mean not the Outside of it
 “ and Dress only, but equally absolute, a blind
 “ Obedience of the People upon the Clergy, and
 “ of the Clergy upon themselves; and have op-
 “ posed *Papacy* beyond the Sea, that they might
 “ settle one beyond the Water (at *Lambeth*) ; nay
 “ common Fame is more than ordinarily false, if
 “ none of them have found a Way to reconcile
 “ the *Opinions* of *Rome*, to the *Preferments* of
 “ *England* ; and to be so absolutely, directly and
 “ cordially *Papists*, that it is all 1500 Pounds *per*
 “ *Ann.* can do to keep them from Confessing it.”

“ *Papish* Recusants were by King *Charles* not
 “ only tolerated, but moreover protected, coun-
 “ tenanced and considered as the best Subjects.
 “ They resorted publickly to Mass at *Somerset-* Rapin, Vol.
 “ *House*, and returned from thence in great Mul- X. p. 435.

“ titudes, as if their Churches had been allowed
 “ by Authority.” — Let us hear Lord *Clarendon*’s
 Account of this Matter — “ The *Papists* were,
 “ upon the Matter, absolved from the severest
 “ Parts of the Law, and dispensed with for the
 “ gentlest. They were looked upon as good Sub-
 “ jects at Court and as good Neighbours in the
 “ Country ; all the Restraints and Reproaches of
 “ former Times being forgotten. Their Pomp
 “ and Boldness increased to that Degree that they
 “ entertained and urged Conferences more avow-
 “ edly than had before been known : They at- Clarend. Vol.
 “ tempted and sometimes obtained Proselytes of I. p. 148.
 “ weak uninformed Ladies, with such Circum-
 “ stances as provoked the Rage and destroyed the
 “ Charity of great and powerful Families, which
 “ longed for their Suppression. They grew not
 “ only secret Contrivers, but publick professed
 “ Promoters of, and Ministers in, the most odi-

- ous and the most grievous Projects. The *Priests*
 and such as were in Orders (Orders that in
 themselves were punishable with Death) were
 departed from their former Modesty and Fear,
 and were as willing to be known as to be
 hearkened to. And for the most invidious Pro-
 tection and Countenance of that whole Party,
 a publick *Agent* from *Rome*, first Mr. *Con* a
Scottish Man and after him the Count of *Rozet-*
ti an *Italian*, resided at *London* in great Port;
 publicly visited the Court; and was avowedly
 resorted to by the *Catholicks* of all Conditions,
 over whom he assumed a particular Jurisdiction,
 and was carested and presented magnificently by
 the Ladies of Honour, who inclined to that
 Profession."—"The Queen had prevailed with
 the King to receive this *Agent* as a Sort of *Nuncio*."
 Cardinal *Barberino* was appointed by the Pope
 Protector of the *English* and *Scottish* Nations,
 and Cardinal *Ludovico* of the *Irish*. These two
 Cardinals erected a *Special Society* of four Orders
 of *Jesuits* in *England*, of whom the Pope's Le-
 gate residing in *England* for the Time being was
 to be Rector. Sir *William Hamilton* was also
 sent hence as Envoy to *Rome*."
Smith, Titular Bishop of *Chalcedon*, exerci-
 sed episcopal Jurisdiction over the *English* Ca-
 tholicks, by Commission from the Pope; ap-
 pointed a Popish *Vicar General* and Archdea-
 cons over all *England*; conferred Orders, and ap-
 peared in *Lancashire* with his *Mitre* and *Crozier*."
 In *Ireland* the King granted a Toleration for
 the *Popish* Religion: it was there openly pro-
 fessed; and their Ecclesiastical Discipline a-
 vow'd; *Monasteries*, *Nunneries* and other *Reli-*
gious Houses re-edified and fill'd with Men and
 Women of several Orders even in *Dublin* itself.
Mass Houses, *Colleges* and *Convents* of *Friars*
 were erected in the open View of the State,
 Lord

Rapin, Vol. X.
p. 435.

Hist. Stu. p.
128.

Neal, Vol. II.
p. 164, 305.
(Fuller, B. XI.
p. 133.)

Ibid. p. 184,
186.

" Lord Faulkland complains ; they had their Officials and Vicars-General for the ecclesiastical Jurisdiction ; and were so hardy as to excommunicate those who appeared at the Courts of the Protestant Bishops."

Thus, under the Protection and Countenance of the Court, Popery was making great and dangerous Advances : Of this the several Parliaments summoned by the King made earnest Complaints ; and frequently and humbly pray'd him to put the Laws against Recusants in vigorous Execution.—

" In Answer to their Petition the King solemnly promised — *That the Laws against Papists shall be put in Execution. — That no Popish Recusant shall be admitted to come to Court but upon special Occasion according to the STATUTE of the third* Rapin, *V. X.*
of JACOB. — *That no Popish Recusant shall be* p. 23.

admitted into his Service, or into that of his Royal Consort.—That all such Persons shall be removed from all Places of Authority and Government." —

But see how these Promises were performed, —

" The King himself quickly after, by special Warrant, released eleven Romish Priests out of Prison. And when the next Parliament petitioned for the Removal of Papists from Offices of Trust, it appeared by a List annexed to their Neal, *V. II. p.*
Petition that there were no less than Fifty-nine ^{164.}
of the Nobility and Gentry of that Religion in the Commission."

" The Papists were in high Reputation at Court : The King counted them his best Subjects, and relaxed the Penal Laws. Within the Compass of four Years, seventy-four Letters of Grace were signed by the King's own Hand :
Sixty-four Priests were dismissed from the Gate- Ibid. p. 364.
House ; and Twenty-nine by Warrant from the Secretary of State at the Instance of the Queen,
Etc. Protections were frequently granted to put

- “ a Stop to the Proceedings of the Courts of Jus-
 “ tice against them. I have before me a List of
 “ Popish Recusants convicted in the Twenty-nine
 “ *English* Counties of the Southern Division, from
 “ the *First* of King *Charles* to the *Sixteenth*, which
 “ amounts to no less than eleven Thousand nine
 “ Hundred and Seventy (as the Account was
 “ given in to the Long Parliament by Mr. *John*
 “ *Pulford* employed in their Prosecution by the
 “ King himself) all of whom were released or
 “ pardoned. And if their Number were so great
 “ in the *South*, how must they abound in the
 “ *Northern* and *Welch* Counties, where they are
 Neal, Vol. II. “ computed three to one! Popery was counte-
 p. 576. “ nanced to that Degree at *York*, that *Moss* was
 “ said in every Street, and the Protestants so af-
 “ fronted, that they were almost afraid to go to
 Clarend. Vol. “ Church. At *Westminster-Hall* one *James* a Pa-
 I. p. 249. “ pish, being summoned amongst many others by
 “ an Order of Parliament, and pressed by Mr.
 “ *Hayward*, a Justice of Peace, to take the
 “ Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, he sud-
 “ denly drew his Knife and stabbed the Justice
 “ with some reproachful Words for *Persecuting*
 “ *poor Catholics*.
 Rapin, Vol. “ During the first fifteen Years of his Reign the
 XII. p. 583. “ *Roman-Catholics* were not only screened from
 “ the Rigor of the Law, but even encouraged
 “ and countenanced to such a Degree, that he
 “ trusted them with the most important Offices,
 “ as of Privy-Counsellors, Secretaries of State,
 “ and Lords-Lieutenants of Counties.”—“ *Weston*
 “ was Lord High Treasurer, *Windbank* Secretary
 “ of State, *Cottingham* Chancellor of the Exche-
 Neal, Vol. II. “ quer, *Porter* of the Bed-Chamber: besides
 p. 305. “ these, there was Lord *Conway*, Sir *K. Digby*, Sir
 “ *T. Matthews*, Mr. *Montague jun.* the *Duchess*
 “ of *Montague*, the *Countess* of *Newport*, and
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"many others, all Papists, and in high Favour,
"who had the King and Queen's Ear whensoever
"they pleased."

As the King zealously protected and favoured
the *Papists* throughout his whole Reign, which
was one of the unhappy Causes of the War which
ensued; so these, in Return, exerted themselves
vigorously for the Support of his Majesty, in his
arbitrary Measures, and made a considerable Part
of the Army which fought for him. "I have
"before me, says an Historian, a List, printed by
"the *Papists* in the Reign of *Charles II*, of the
"Popish Noblemen and Gentlemen which lost their
"Lives or Estates in his Father's Service.

*Popish Lords and Gentlemen in King Charles I's Ar-
my who were killed.*

The Earl of Carnarvon.

The Lord Viscount Dunbar.

Sir John Smith, Baronet.

Sir John Cansfield.

Sir Henry Gage.

Sir John Digby.

Sir Peter Brown.

Sir Nicholas Fortescue.

Sir Troilus Tuberville, Captain Lieutenant of the
King's Life-Guard.

Sir John Preston.

Sir Thomas Tildesley.

Sir Arthur Ashton.

Besides {	14 Colonels.
	17 Lieutenant-Colonels.
	14 Majors.
	66 Captains.
	18 Lieutenants and Cornets.
	38 Gentlemen.

Crit. Hist.
Eng. p. 219.

*Wounded and Sequester'd,*Major-General *William Webb.*Marquess of *Winchester.*Marquess of *Worcester.*Lord *Cottingham.*Lord *Langdale.**Piercy Lord Powis.*Lord *Somerset.*Lord *Arundel of Wardour.*Lord *Morley and Monteagle.*Lord *Eure.**William Lord Powis.*Sir *Walter Blunt.*Sir *Edward Widdrington, Colonel.*Sir *Philip Constable.*Sir *John Clavering.*Sir *Nicolas Thornton.*

“ And several Hundred more of the same, and
 “ inferior Rank.”

In Prosecution of this grand Design of a *Coa-*
lition with the Church of *Rome*, and to render
 himself and the Church of *England* more accep-
 table to her, the King disowns the *foreign Protef-*
tants, and actually breaks off Communion with
 them: Two Instances shew this. “ It had been
 “ always usual, says Lord *Clarendon*, for the Am-
 “ bassadors and all foreign Ministers of State em-
 “ ployed from *England* into any Parts where the
 “ *Reformed Religion* was exercised, to frequent
 “ their Churches and give all possible Countenance
 “ to their Profession: But the contrary to this was
 “ now with great Industry practised, and some
 “ Advertisements if not Instructions given to the
 “ Ambassadors there (*Le Clerk* says they were or-
 “ dered) to forbear any extraordinary Commerce with

Coalition with the Church of Rome.

71

Men of that Profession. And Lord Scudamore, Clarendon,
“the last ordinary Ambassador there, not only Vol. I. l. p. 96.
“declined Going to Charenton (the Protestant
“Church at Paris) but furnished his own Chapel,
“with Wax Candles upon the Communion Table
“and other Ornaments, as gave great Umbrage
“and Offence to those of the Reformation there
“who had not seen the like. Besides that, he
“was careful to publish upon all Occasions, by
“himself and those who had the nearest Relation
“to him, *That the CHURCH OF ENGLAND*
“*looked not upon the HUGONOTS OF FRANCE*
“*as a Part of their Communion.* Which was like-
“wise too much and too industriously discourf’d
“at Home.”

Another Instance of like Contempt shewn to
foreign Protestants, amidst a Profusion of Respect
and Complaisance to the Church of Rome, was this
—“Upon the Queen of Bohemia’s earnest Solici-
“tation with King Charles her Brother, An. 1634,
“a Collection was ordered over England for the
“poor persecuted Ministers of the Palatinate,
“who were banished their Country for their Re-
“ligion. In the Brief which was granted for this
“Purpose, was the following Clause—*Whose Cases*
“*are the more to be deplored, because their Extremi-*
“*ty is fallen upon them for their Sincerity and Con-*
“*stancy IN THE TRUE RELIGION WHICH* Neal, Vol. II.
“WE TOGETHER WITH THEM PROFESS, p. 271.
“—*Whereas those Religious and Godly Persons might*
“*have enjoyed their Estates and Fortunes, if they*
“*would have submitted themselves to the ANTI-*
“*CHRISTIAN YOKE, and have renounced or*
“*dissembled the Profession of their Religion.* Laud
“had two Exceptions to this Passage. 1. He de-
“nied the RELIGION of the Palatine Churches
“to be the same with ours; because they were
“Calvinists, and because their Ministers had not

“ *Episcopal* Ordination. 2. He objected to the
 “ Church of *Rome*’s being called an ANTI-
 “ CHRISTIAN Yoke; because it would then
 “ follow that she was in no Capacity to convey
 “ *Sacerdotal Power* in Ordinations; and conse-
 “ quently the Benefit of the Priesthood, and the
 “ Force of holy Ministrations would be lost in
 “ the *English* Church, for as much as she has *no*
 “ Orders but what she derives from the Church
 “ of *Rome*. *Laud* acquainted the King with his
 “ Exceptions: the Passages were expunged;”
 and the brave *Palatines* disowned as Churches pro-
 fessing the *same Religion* with us: whilst the Church
 of *Rome* is declared to have *ever remained firm upon*
the same Foundation of Sacraments and Doctrines in-
stituted by GOD; and the Points in Controversy be-
twixt the Church of ENGLAND and IT, to be of
an inferior and lesser Nature, which do not at all af-
fect the Salvation of a Man’s Soul.

Rapin, Vol. X.
p. 211.

Neil, Vol. II.
p. 172.

Finally. To effect with the greater Ease this
 intended *Coalition*, the Press was in this Prince’s
 Reign laid under a severe Restraint. “ The
 “ Printers and Booksellers of *London* presented to
 “ the Parliament several Petitions complaining of
 “ the Restraint of Books written against *Popery*;
 “ whilst a Licence was never refused to such as
 “ were composed in Favour of *Popish* Doctrines.
 “ They instanced in several Books of this Kind
 “ which were denied to be licensed.” And even
 those which had been formerly licensed by Autho-
 rity, as Bishop *Jewel*’s, Dr. *Willet*’s, *Fox*’s Mar-
 tyrology, and even the *Practice of Piety*, which
 had gone thro’ 36 Editions, &c. were now not
 suffered to be reprinted. “ The *Queen* and the
 “ *Roman-Catholicks*, ’twas said, must not be insult-
 “ ed; and therefore all offensive Passages, such
 “ as calling the Pope *Antichrist*; the Church of
 “ *Rome* no true Church; and every Thing that
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“ tended to expose *Images* in Churches, *Crucifixes*,
 “ *Penance*, *Auricular Confession* and *Popish Absolu-*
 “ *tion* must be expunged.”——“ No Books im- Neal, *Vol. II.*
 “ ported from abroad were allowed to be sold p. 299.
 “ till a Catalogue of them had been first delivered
 “ to the Archbishop or Bishop of *London*, to be
 “ perused by themselves or their Chaplains.

“ *Gellibrand*, the mathematical Professor, was
 “ prosecuted for publishing an *Almanack*, in which
 “ the Names of Protestant Martyrs were inserted
 “ out of *Fox's* Calendar, instead of those pretend- Bennet's
 “ ed Saints whom the *Pope* had canonized: But *Memor. p. 233.*
 “ at the same Time the Archbishop's Chaplain
 “ licenced, without Scruple, a scandalous Book
 “ in which the *first Reformers*, who sealed their
 “ Religion with their Blood, were stigmatized
 “ with the odious Names of *Traitors* and *Re-*
 “ *bels.*”

CHAP. X.

Persecutions and Severities in the Reign of this
 PRINCE: particularly against the
 ENGLISH Nonconformists and Puritan
 Clergy.

WHILST the *Papists* were thus careffed
 and highly favoured at Court, and their
 Doctrines freely uttered both from the Pulpit and
 the Prefs; there were great Numbers of the King's
Protestant and good Subjects, who, not falling so
 easily into his arbitrary Measures, fell under his
 severe Displeasure; and were treated with a Ri-
 gor seldom exceeded in the most persecuting and
 cruel Reigns.

“ Mr.

Tindal's *Summary*, p. 120.

Neal, *Vol. II.* p. 209, 255.

Ibid. p. 251, 254.

“ Mr. *Nath. Bernard* Lecturer of *St. Sepulchre's* London was fined a Thousand Pounds, and committed to Prison for Preaching against *Arminianism*.”—“ Three Members of the University of *Oxford* were expelled for the same Crime.” —“ Above Twenty other Ministers were fined, censured and put by their Livings for not *Bowing at the Name of Jesus*, or Preaching against it.—The King's Instructions, and the severe Principles of the Prime Minister, brought a great Deal of Business into the *Spiritual Courts*; one or other of the *Puritan* Ministers was every Week suspended or deprived, and their Families sent a begging.” —“ The severe Pressing the *Book of Sports* (*i. e.* Requiring the Clergy from their Pulpits to publish the King's Order for *Revels, Dances and Recreations* on the *Lord's Day*) made dreadful Havock amongst them for seven Years.—How many hundred godly Ministers (*sais Mr. Prynne*) have been suspended from their Ministry, sequestered, driven from their Livings, excommunicated, prosecuted in the High Commission and forced to leave the Kingdom for not Publishing this *Declaration*. *Dr. Wren*, Bishop of *Norwich*, *sais*, that great Numbers in his Diocese had declined it and were suspended; that some had since complied; but that still there were *Thirty* that had peremptorily refused and were *excommunicated*. This the Bishop thinks a *small Number*; but if there were as many in other Dioceses, the whole would amount to near *eight Hundred*.”

The *Dutch* and *French* Churches, which consisted of several thousand industrious Protestant Families, whose Ancestors had taken Refuge in *England* from bloody Persecutions, and who had brought with them those Manufactures of *Wool, &c.* which had proved of inconceivable Advan-

tage

rage to the Kingdom, " were now by the King's
 " Injunctions forbid to worship, if born in these
 " Kingdoms, unless they conformed to the *Eng-*
 " *lish* Liturgy and Ceremonies. This Prohibition
 " was an open Violation of a Charter of Privi-
 " leges, confirmed no less than five Times by
 " King *James*, and twice by King *Charles* himself.
 " The Mayor and Corporation of *Canterbury* cer-
 " tified, that above twelve Hundred of their Poor
 " were maintained by these *Foreigners*; and others
 " interceded with the King in their Favour; but
 " his Majesty answered, *we must believe our Arch-*
 " *bishop*, who used their Deputies very roughly,
 " calling them a Nest of Schismaticks, and telling
 " them it were better to have no foreign Churches,
 " than to indulge their Nonconformity. In Con-
 " clusion he assured them, his Majesty was resolv-
 " ed his Injunctions should be observed; that he Neal, Vol. II.
 " expected all Obedience and Conformity from p. 268.
 " them; and that he should else proceed against
 " the Natives according to the Laws and Ca-
 " nons Ecclesiastical: Accordingly some of their
 " Churches were interdicted, others shut up, and
 " the Assemblies dissolved; their Ministers were
 " suspended, many of their People left the King-
 " dom. In the Diocese of *Norwich* only, three
 " Thousand Manufacturers in Wool, Cloth, &c.
 " were drove away; some of whom employed an
 " hundred poor People at Work, to the unspeak-
 " able Damage of the Kingdom."

" The Bishop of *Norwich*, sais *Coke*, straining
 " these Injunctions, frightened Thousands of Fami-
 " lies out of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* into *New-Eng-*
 " *land*. And about an Hundred and forty Fami- Coke Detec.
 " lies of these Manufacturers went into *Holland*, p. 109, 199.
 " where the *Dutch*, as wise as Queen *Elizabeth*
 " was in Entertaining the *Walloons* persecuted by
 " the Duke of *Alva*, established these *English*
 Excise-

Clarend. Vol.
III. p. 95, 96.

“ Excise-free and Rent-free for seven Years ; and
 “ from them became instructed in working those
 “ Manufactures, which before they knew not.”
 “ Lord *Clarendon* speaking of the Activity
 “ which many of the *Hugonots* of *France* mani-
 “ fested against King *Charles* I, acknowledges, that
 “ the *Occasion* whence this Disaffection grew, was
 “ very unskilfully and imprudently administred
 “ by the State here. Not to speak of the Busi-
 “ ness of *Rochel*, though it stuck deep in all (of
 “ which see above Chap. II.) They had a great-
 “ er Quarrel, which made them believe, that
 “ their *very Religion* was persecuted by the Church
 “ of *England*.” His Lordship having mentioned
 the great Piety and Policy of all our former
 Princes, from *Edward* VI down to the present
 Time, in drawing over, by all Means, great
 Numbers of these *foreign Protestants*, and giving
 them Liberty in all Places to erect Churches and
 to worship according to their own Way, adds,—
 “ But some few Years before these Troubles,
 “ when the Power of *Church-Men* grew more
 “ transcendant, and indeed the Faculties and Un-
 “ derstanding of the *Lay-Counsellors* more dull,
 “ lazy and unactive, the *Bishops* grew jealous that
 “ the Countenancing another Discipline of the
 “ Church here, by Order of the *State*, would at
 “ least diminish the Reputation and Dignity of
 “ the *Episcopal* Government,” proceeded with great
 Rigor, as above related, against them ; which his
 Lordship with his usual Gentleness, when touching
 on these Points, calls, “ Doing some *Acts of Re-*
 “ *straint* ; with which those Congregations grew
 “ generally discontented, and thought the Liber-
 “ ty of their Consciences taken from them : this
 “ caused in *London* much Complaining of this
 “ Kind ; but much more in the Diocese of *Nor-*
 “ *wich*, where Dr. *Wren*, the Bishop, passionately
 “ and

“ and warmly proceeded against them : so that
 “ many left the Kingdom, to the Lessening the
 “ wealthy Manufacture there of Kerseys and nar-
 “ row Cloths: and which was worse, transport-
 “ ing that Mystery into foreign Parts.”

“ To avoid the High-Commission and Spiritual
 “ Courts the persecuted *Protestants* crowded the
 “ Sea Ports to get over to *America*.”—“ So that *Hist. Stu. p.*
 “ in about 12 Years of this Reign, there went ^{131.}
 “ over about 4000 Planters ; who laid the Founda-
 “ tion of several little Towns and Villages up
 “ and down the Country; and carried hence in
 “ *Money, Cattle, &c.* not less than to the Value
 “ of an Hundred and Ninety-two Thousand
 “ Pounds, besides the Merchandise sent over with
 “ them to traffic with the *Indians*. Upon the *Neal, Vol. II.*
 “ Whole, it has been computed that the Settle- ^{p. 214.}
 “ ments in *New-England*, which were accom-
 “ plished before the Beginning of the Civil Wars,
 “ drained *England* of four or five Hundred Thou-
 “ sand Pounds in Money : a very great Sum for
 “ those Days.”

The terrible Proceedings of this Reign did no
 Service to Church or State, but awakened the
 Resentments of all Ranks and Professions of Men
 against those in Power. “ The Laity were as
 “ uneasy as the Clergy, many of whom sold their
 “ Effects and removed with their Families and
 “ Trades into *Holland* and *New-England*.—But
 “ the King issued out a Proclamation, importing,
 “ *that being informed that great Numbers of his Sub-*
 “ *jects were yearly transported to New-England,*
 “ THAT THEY MIGHT BE OUT OF THE REACH
 “ OF ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORITY, *therefore*
 “ *commands that his Officers of the several Ports suf-*
 “ *fer none to pass without Licence from the Commis-* ^{*Ibid. p. 300.*}
 “ *sioners of the Plantations, and a Testimonial from*
 “ *their Minister of their Conformity to the Orders*
 “ and

Persecutions and Severities

“ and Discipline of the Church. And that no Cles-
 “ gyman be suffered to transport himself without
 “ a Testimonial from the Archbishop of Canterbury
 “ and Bishop of London.

“ A Degree of Severity, saies the Historian,
 “ hardly to be paralleled in the Christian World.
 “ When the Edict of Nantz was revoked, the
 “ French King (with all his Popish tyrannical Prin-
 “ ciples) allowed his Protestant Subjects a conve-
 “ nient Time to dispose of their Effects and leave
 “ the Kingdom.” But this was an Indulgence
 not granted by King Charles: He will neither suf-
 fer his Subjects to worship according to the Dic-
 tates of their Conscience, and to live peaceably at
 Home; nor to seek a quiet Retreat Abroad in
 some distant and desolate Corner of the Earth.

And here behold the unsearchable Wisdom of
 Providence! By one of these tyrannical Orders of
 Council eight Ships were stopt at once in the Ri-
 ver of *Thames*, bound for *New-England*, full of
 Puritan Families, amongst whom were the famous
 Sir *Arthur Haselrigge*, *John Hamden*, Esq; OLIV-
 ER CROMWELL (afterwards *Protector*) with
 many others of the same Stamp, who were actu-
 ally embarked, and would have sailed the next
 Day, had they not been thus arbitrarily stayed by
 the King.

To pass by many Instances of terrible Rigor
 in the Treatment of Bishop *Williams*, Messrs. *Bur-*
ton, *Lilburn*, *Smart*, *Osbaldeston*, &c. let it suffice
 to relate the Cases of each of the three learned
 Professions, a Lawyer, a Physician, and a Divine,
 to shew the Spirit of this Reign.

“ *William Prynne*, Esq; a noted Gentleman of
 Echard, pag. 455. “ *Lincoln's-Inn* (of whom Archdeacon *Echard* saies,
 “ that he brought some Learning from *Oxford*,
 “ which he daily improved by indefatigable Study)
 “ published a Book called *Histrion-Mastix* against
 “ Plays,

“ Plays, which was licensed by Archbishop *Abbot*’s *Whitelocke’s*
 “ Chaplain. In the Reference Table of the Book *Mem. p. 18, 21.*
 “ was this Passage, *Women Actors notorious Whores*,
 “ relating to some *Women Actors* mentioned in his
 “ Book, as he affirmed. It happened that about
 “ six Weeks after this, the Queen acted a Part in
 “ a Pastoral at *Somerset-House*. Archbishop *Laud*
 “ and other Prelates, whom *Prynne* had angered
 “ by some Books of his against *Arminianism* and
 “ against the Jurisdiction of Bishops, the next
 “ Day after the Queen had acted her Pastoral,
 “ shewed *Prynne*’s Book to the King and Queen;
 “ and informed them, that he had *purposely* writ-
 “ ten this Book against the Queen and her Pasto-
 “ ral, whereas it was published *six Weeks* BEFORE
 “ that Pastoral was acted.—*Laud* set *Heylin*, who
 “ bare a great Malice to *Prynne*, to collect the
 “ scandalous Points out of his Books, though (as
 “ *Prynne* affirms) not at all warranted by the Text
 “ of his Book. *Laud* went with these Notes, on
 “ a *Sabbath-Day* Morning, to the Attorney Gene-
 “ ral, charging him to prosecute *Prynne*; and the
 “ Bishops and Lords in the *Star-Chamber* sent him
 “ close Prisoner to the *Tower*.—The Archbishop
 “ *Laud* procured a sharp Sentence against him,
 “ viz. to be imprisoned during his Life, fined
 “ five Thousand Pounds, expelled *Lincoln’s-Inn*,
 “ Disbarred and Disabled to practise, Degraded of
 “ his Degree in the University, to be set on the
 “ Pillory and his Ears to be cut off, and his Book
 “ to be burnt by the common Hangman: which
 “ Sentence, saith *Whitelock*, was as severely exe-
 “ cuted.”

“ All this was done upon *Heylin*’s Inferences
 “ and Conclusions: and no Passage of *Prynne*’s
 “ Book was laid in the Information brought a-
 “ gainst him. But the Punctilios of Law were a *Pierce’s Vind.*
 “ Trifle to these Men. The Queen interceded *p. 191.*
 “ with

“ with the King to remit the Execution of the
 “ Sentence, but *Laud* prevailed, and got all the
 “ corporal Punishment inflicted to a Tittle.

Whitelock, p. 21. “ At the same Time Dr. *Bastwick*, a Physician,
 “ was brought into the High-Commission Court for
 “ his Book called *Elenchus Papismi*, &c. or, *The*
 “ *Scourge of the Romish Bishops* in Answer to one
 “ *Short*, a *Papist*, who maintained the *Pope's* Su-
 “ premacy, the Mass and Popery : And *Bastwick's*
 “ Epistle to his Book declared, that he intended
 “ Nothing against *our Bishops*, but against those of
 “ *Rome*. Yet this *Doctor* was sentenced by the
 “ High-Commissioners in a Thousand Pounds
 “ Fine, to be excommunicated, debarred his Prac-
 “ tice of Physick, his Books to be burnt, and
 “ himself to be imprisoned till he made a Recan-
 “ tation : and this was for Maintaining the *King's*
 “ *Prerogative* against *Papacy*, as the Dr. plead-
 “ ed.

Ibid. p. 22. “ On the other Part, one *Chowney*, a fierce
 “ *Papist*, wrote a Book in Defence of the *Popish*
 “ Religion and of the Church of *Rome*, averring
 “ it to be a *true Church* ; and the Book was de-
 “ dicated to and patronised by the Archbishop
 “ *Laud* : So far was *Chowney* from being punished
 “ or questioned for that Doctrine—that the *Arch-*
 “ *bishop* maintained his Book ; and that the *Ro-*
 “ *mish Church* was a *true Church*, and erred not
 “ in Fundamentals : and somewhat was noted to
 “ pass from him and other *Bishops*, in Defaming
 “ the holy Scriptures.”

“ Whilst these two Gentlemen, *Prynne* and
 “ *Bastwick*, lay in Prison, there came forth two
 “ Books which gave Offence to the Bishops.
 “ There was no Name to them, and the Bishops
 “ not being able to find the Author, resolved to
 “ make *Prynne* smart for it. They exhibited an
 “ Information against him and *Bastwick* in the
 “ Star-

" *Star-Chamber*. Neither of these Books was particularly charged upon Mr. *Prynne* in the Information, nor any Witness produced to prove him the Author or Disperser of any of them. They were *subpœna'd* to put in their Answer. They had Council assigned them, who being *Peirce's Vind.* severely threatned, dared not subscribe their p. 192. Answer, and then their Answer was refused because not signed by a Counsellor."—" They left their Answers at the Office signed with their own Hands, praying the Court to receive them: But this could not be admitted. They were proceeded against *pro Confesso*. The Prisoners at the Bar cried aloud for *Justice*, and that their Answers might be read, which they offered to maintain at the Peril of their Lives; but it was peremptorily denied, and Sentence passed upon them, *That each of them be fined five Thou-* Neal, Vol. 11. sand Pounds; *that they stand in the Pillory at p. 292. Westminster and have their Ears cut off; and because Prynne had already lost his Ears by a former Sentence, it was ordered that the Remainder of his Stumps should be cut off, both Cheeks stigmatized with the Letters S. L. (a) and to suffer perpetual Imprisonment in the remotest Prisons of the Kingdom.* This Sentence was executed: The Hangman rather sawing the Remainder of *Prynne's* Ears than cutting them off: They were afterwards shut up in Prisons, one in the Isle of *Scilly* the other of *Jersey*, without Pen, Ink or Paper, or the Access of Friends."

There was a Circumstance attending the Suffering of this learned Lawyer, which deserves to be remembered, as giving a lively Image of the Spirit of those Times. " Being at *Coventry*, on a Lord's Day, in his Way to the Prison, some of

G

his

(a) Slanderous Libeller.

Pierce's Vind.
p. 193.

“ his Friends (asking Leave of his Keepers, who
 “ said they had no Orders to the Contrary) visited
 “ him. For this Archbishop *Laud* sent a Messenger
 “ for them ; and when he had checked them,
 “ and put them to two or three Hundred Pounds
 “ Charge, he dismissed them. His Friends at
 “ *Chester* came not so easily off. Mr. *C. Brewen*,
 “ accidentally overtaking him upon the Road,
 “ rode with him into *Chester*. He, and some Ac-
 “ quaintance of Mr. *Prynne's*, came to see him
 “ at his Inn: and when he went from that City
 “ three or four of his Friends conducted him over
 “ the *Wasches*, which were dangerous (none of his
 “ Guard knowing the Way) brought them on
 “ four or five Miles, gave his Guard some Wine
 “ and cold Meat, and so went back. For this
 “ they were put into the *High-Commission* at *York*
 “ and there fined ; some 500, some 300, some
 “ 250 Pounds : they were imprisoned, and forced
 “ to enter into Bonds of 300 Pounds a Piece to
 “ stand to the further Order of the Court, and to
 “ make such a publick Acknowledgment of this
 “ great Crime, both in the Cathedral Church at
 “ *Chester* before the Congregation, and likewise in
 “ the *Town-Hall* before the Mayor, Aldermen and
 “ Citizens, as the Commissioners should prescribe
 “ them.”

But of the very terrible and unchristian Severity
 of this Reign, no livelier Image can be drawn, the
 Case of Dr. *Leighton*, (the Father of the much ce-
 lebrated Archbishop of that Name) as it was pre-
 sented to the *House of Commons* ; which they could
 not hear read, without several Times interrupting
 it with their Tears. I shall transcribe it from Mr.
Chandler's excellent *History of Persecution*, p. 367.

To

To the Honourable and High Court of Parliament. The humble Petition of *Alexander Leighton*, Prisoner in the *Fleet* :

Humbly sheweth,

HOW your much and long distressed Petitioner, on the 17th of February ten Years since, was apprehended in Black-Fryers, coming from Sermon, by an High-Commission Warrant (to which no Subject's Body is liable) and thence, with a Multitude of Staves and Bills, was dragg'd along (all the Way reproached by the Name of Jesuit and Traytor) till they brought him to London-House; where he was shut up, and by a strong Guard kept (without Food) till seven a Clock, till Dr. Laud, then Prelate of London, and Dr. Corbert then of Oxford, returned from Fulham-House with a Troop attending. The Jayler of Newgate was sent for, who came with Irons, and with a strong Power of Halberts and Staves: they carried your Petitioner thro' a blind, hollow Way, without Pretence or Examination; and opening up a Gate into the Street (which some say had not been opened since Queen Mary's Days) they thrust him into a loathsome and nauseous Dog-hole, full of Rats and Mice, which had no Light but a little Grate; and the Roof being uncovered, the Snow and Rain beat in upon him, having no Bedding nor Place to make a Fire, but the Ruins of an old smoaky Chimney; where he had neither Meat nor Drink from the Tuesday at Night till the Thursday at Noon. In this woful Place, and doleful Plight, they kept him close, with two Doors shut upon him, for the Space of fifteen Weeks: Suffering none to come at him, till at length his Wife was only admitted.

The fourth Day after his Commitment, the High-Commission Pursevants came (under the Conduct of the Sheriffs of London) to your Petitioner's House and a

Persecutions and Severities

mighty Multitude with them; giving out that they came to search for Jesuit's Books. There these violent Fellows of Prey laid violent Hands upon your Petitioner's distressed Wife, with such barbarous Inhumanity as he is ashamed to express; and so rifled every Soul in the House; holding a bent Pistol to a Child's Breast of five Years old, threatening to kill him, if he would not tell where the Books were; through which the Child was so affrighted, that he never cast it. They broke open Presses, Chests, Boxes, Boards of the House, &c. tho' they were willing to open all. They spoiled, robbed and carried away all the Books and Manuscripts they found, Household Stuff, Apparel, Arms and other Things, leaving nothing that liked them.

Your Petitioner being denied the Copy of his Commitment, by the Jaylor of Newgate, his Wife with some Friends repaired to the Sheriff, offering him Bail, according to the Statute in that Behalf; which being shewed by an Attorney at Law, the Sheriff replied—That he wished the Laws of the Land and Privileges of the Subject, had never been named in the Parliament. Your Petitioner (having thus suffered in Body, Liberty, Family, Estate and House) at the End of fifteen Weeks was served with a Subpœna, on an Information laid against him by Sir Rob. Heath Attorney General; whose Dealing with your Petitioner was full of Cruelty and Deceit. In the mean Time it did more than appear, to four Physicians, that Poison had been given him in Newgate; for his Hair and Skin came off in a Sicknes (deadly to the Eye) in the Height whereof as he lay, Censure was pass'd upon him in the Star-Chamber, without Hearing (which had not been heard of) notwithstanding a Certificate from four Physicians, and Affidavit made by an Attorney, of the Desperateness of the Disease. But nothing would serve Dr. Laud but the highest Censure that ever was passed in that Court to be

put

put upon him; to be inflicted with Knife, Fire and Whip, at and upon the Pillory, with TEN THOUSAND Pounds Fine; which some of the Lords (his Judges) conceived should never be inflicted; and was only imposed (as on a dying Man) to terrify others. But the said Doctor and his Combinants caused the said Censure to be executed the 26th of November following, with a Witness.

For the Hangman was armed with Strong-drink all the Night before in Prison, and, with threatening Words, to do it cruelly. Your Petitioner's Hands being tied to a Stake (besides all other Torments) he received thirty-six Stripes, with a triple Cord; after which he stood almost two Hours on the Pillory in cold Frost and Snow, and suffered the rest, viz. Cutting off the Ear, Firing the Face, and Slitting of the Nose; so that he was made a Theatre of Misery to Men and Angels. [Here the Compassion of the House of Commons was so great that they were generally in Tears, and ordered the Clerk to stop reading twice, till they had recovered themselves] And being so broken with his Sufferings that he was not able to go, the Warden of the Fleet would not suffer him to be carried in a Coach; but he was forced to go by Water, to the further endangering of his Life; returning to the Jail after much harsh and cruel Usage, for the Space of eight Years, paying more for a Chamber than the Worth of it, having not a Bit of Bread nor Drop of Water allowed. The Clerk of the Fleet to top your Petitioner's Sufferings, sent for him to his Office, and without Warrant, or Cause given by your Petitioner, set eight strong Fellows upon him, who tore his Clothes, bruised his Body, so that he was never well, and carried him by Head and Heels to that loathsome and common Jail; where besides the Filthiness of the Place and Vileness of the Company, divers Contrivances were laid for the Taking away the Life of your Petitioner, as shall mani-

festly appear, if your Honours will be pleased to receive and peruse a Schedule on that Subject.

Now the Cause of all this harsh, cruel and continued ill Usage, unparalleled yet upon any one since Britain was blessed with Christianity, was Nothing but a Book written by your Petitioner, called Sion's Plea against the Prelacy; and that by the Call of divers and many good Christians in the Parliament Time, after divers Refusals given by your Petitioner, who would not publish it being done, till it had the View and Approbation of the best in the City, Country and University, and some of the Parliament itself: In Witness whereof he had about 500 Hands; for revealing of whose Names he was promised more Favours by Sir Rob. Heath than he will speak of. But denying to turn Accuser of his Brethren, he was threatened with a Storm, which he felt to the full: wherein, through God's Mercy, he hath lived, though but lived; chusing rather to lay his Neck to the Yoke for others, than to release himself by their Sufferings.

Your Petitioner therefore humbly and heartily intreateth that you would graciously be pleased to take this his Petition into your serious Thoughts, and command Deliverance, that he may plead his own Cause; and afford such Cost and Damages as he has suffered in Body, Estate and Family; having been Prisoner in the most nasty Prisons eleven Years, not suffered to breath in the open Air—And will regard also your Petitioner's wearing Age, going now in Seventy-two Years, together with the Sicknesses and Weakness of his long distressed Wife, &c.

“ When this merciless Sentence on Leighton
 “ was pronouncing, Laud stood up in publick
 “ Court, and pulled off his Cap, and gave GOD
 “ Thanks for it. And in his Diary he makes this
 “ Remark on the Execution, without one Word
 “ discovering that his Bowels yearn'd, or his Heart
 “ relented. Friday, November 16, Leighton was
 “ severely

"severely whipped; and being set in the Pillory, he
"had one of his Ears cut off, one Side of his Nose
"slit, and branded on one Cheek with a red-hot Iron.

Chandler's
Hist. Persec.
p. 372.

"And on that Day se'enight, HIS SORES UPON HIS
"BACK, EAR, NOSE AND FACE NOT BEING
"CURED, he was whipped again at the Pillory in
"Cheapside, and there had the Remainder of his
"Sentence executed upon him by Cutting off the other
"Ear, Slitting the other Side of his Nose, and Brand-
"ing the other Cheek.

"The Doctor was well known for his Learn-
"ing and other Abilities: but his long and close
"Confinement had so impaired his Health, that
"when he was released he could hardly walk,
"see or hear. The Sufferings of this learned Neal, Vol. II.
"Man moved the People's Compassion; and I p. 218.
"believe the Records of the *Inquisition* can hardly
"furnish an Example of equal Severity.—The
"Parliament therefore very justly and loudly com-
"plained of the extravagant Censures of the *Star-*
"Chamber, as Lord Clarendon informs us, whereby
"the Subject had been oppressed, by Fines, Im-
"prisonments, Stigmatizing, Mutilations, Whip-
"pings, Pillories, Gags, Confinements, Banish-
"ments; the severe and illegal Proceedings of
"the *Council-Table* and other erected Judicatories;
"and the Suspensions, Excommunications, and
"Deprivations of Learned and Pious Ministers, by
"the High *Commission-Court*; which grew to that
"Excess of Sharpness and Severity, that they said
"it was not much less than the *Romish Inquisi-*
"tion."

Clarend. Vol.
II. pag. 316.

C H A P. XI.

The KING's oppressive and injurious Treatment of the Scots.

“ **A**N ill-timed and mistaken Zeal for the
 “ Church of *England* had so great an As-
 Tindal's Cont. “ cendant over this unhappy Prince, (says a cele-
 V. III. p. 735. “ brated Historian) as to engage him with more
 “ Eagerness than his Father, to overturn the Con-
 “ stitution and endeavour a Conquest of *Scotland*;
 “ which was one of the fatal Causes of all his Mis-
 “ fortunes.”—“ The King endeavoured to change
 “ the whole Constitution of that Church and
 Burnet's Hist. “ Kingdom, Bishop *Burnet* acknowledges; but
 Tim. Vol. I. “ those who conducted Matters at that Time had
 p. 26. “ as little of the Prudence of the *Serpent*, as of
 “ the Innocence of the *Dove*: The whole Conduct
 “ of Affairs being neither *wise*, *legal* nor *just*.”

Though the *Scots* had never acknowledged the
 King as *Supreme Head* of the Church, yet by his
 sole Authority, without Consent of Parliament or
 General Assembly, and contrary to the known and
 most violent Bent of the Nation, *not one in a*
 Rapin, Vol. “ *Thousand* (as *Rapin* observes) *being for it*, he re-
 X. p. 343. “ solves to introduce and establish amongst them the
 “ *English* Liturgy and Ceremonies—“ Whilst the
 “ Revision of the *Liturgy* was in Hand, the King
 “ sent into *Scotland* a Book of *Canons* for the Go-
 “ vernment of the *Kirk*: and these *Canons*” (be-
 sides a great many Things absolutely disagreeable
 Ibid. p. 329: “ to the Religious Principles and Worship of the
 whole *Scottish* Nation) “ enjoined a Conformity to
 “ the *Liturgy*, though it was not yet made pub-
 “ lick, nor so much as known to the People.
 “ This was so gross a Blunder that one must

"needs be surpris'd that the King and his Ministers could be guilty of it."

"The *Liturgy* and *Canons*, Bishop *Burnet* observes, were never examined in any publick Assembly of the Clergy: All was managed by three or four aspiring Bishops.—The Bishops obtained Commissions (and set up Courts) subaltern to the *High-Commission* Court in their several Dioceses, which were thought little different from the Courts of Inquisition—They were all so lifted up with the *King's* Zeal, and so encouraged by Archbishop *Laud*, that they lost all Temper—But the unaccountable Part of the *King's* Procedure was, that when he was going to change the whole Constitution of that Church and Kingdom, he rais'd no Force to maintain what he was about to do. All that came down from Court complain'd of the *King's* inexorable Stiffness, and of the Progress *Papery* was making, of the *Queen's* Power with the *King*, of the Favour shew'd the *Pope's* *Nuntios*, and of the many Proselytes who were daily falling off to the Church of *Rome*.—The Violence with which that Kingdom (*Scotland*) did almost unanimously engage against the Administration may easily convince one, that the Provocation must have been very great to draw on such an entire and vehement Concurrence against it."

Burnet's Hist. Tim. Vol. I. p. 25.

"It was a fatal Inadvertency, says Lord *Clarendon*, that these *Canons*, neither before nor after they were sent to the *King*, had been ever seen by the Assembly, or any Convocation of the Clergy, who were so strictly oblig'd to the Observation of them; nor so much as communicated to the Lords of the Council of that Kingdom: it being almost impossible that any new Discipline could be introduced into the Church,

Clarend. Vol. I. p. 104.

which

“ which would not much concern the Govern-
 “ ment of the State, and even trench upon or re-
 “ fer to the Municipal Laws of the Kingdom—It
 “ was the unhappy Craft of the Bishops to get it
 “ believed by the King, whose Authority was
 “ then without Doubt in great Veneration in that
 “ Kingdom, that the Work would be grateful to
 “ the most Considerable of the Nobility, Clergy
 “ and People.

“ It was in the next Place as strange that *Ca-*
 “ *nons* should be published, before the *Liturgy*
 “ was prepared, which was not ready till about
 “ a Year after, when three or four of the *Canons*
 “ were principally for the Observation of, and
 “ punctual Compliance with the *Liturgy*, which
 “ all the Clergy were to be sworn to submit to,
 “ and to pay all Obedience to what was enjoined
 “ by it, *before they knew what it contained*—The
 “ *Canons* now published, besides that they had
 “ passed no Approbation of the Clergy, nor been
 “ communicated to the *Council*, appeared to be
 “ so many *new Laws* imposed upon the whole
 “ Kingdom by the King's sole Authority, and
 “ contrived by a few private Men, of whom they
 “ had no good Opinion and who were Strangers
 “ to the Nation ; so that it was thought no other
 “ than a Subjection to *England*, by receiving Laws
 “ from thence, of which they were most jealous,
 “ and which they passionately abhorred. Then
 “ they were so far from being confined to the
 “ Church and the Matters of Religion, that they
 “ believed there was no Part of their *civil* Govern-
 “ ment uninvaded by them ; and no Persons of
 “ what Quality soever unconcerned, and as they
 “ thought, unhurt by them.

“ It was about *July 1637* that the *Liturgy*
 “ was published and appointed to be read in all
 “ the Churches in *Scotland*. And in this Particu-

Clarend. Vol.
 I. p. 105.

“ lar

“ lar there was the same affected and premedi- Clarend. *V. L.*
 “ tated Omission, as had been in the Preparation *p. 108.*
 “ and Publication of the *Canons*; the Clergy not
 “ at all consulted in it, and which was more
 “ strange, not all the Bishops acquainted with it.
 “ —The Privy-Council had no other Notice of
 “ it than all the Kingdom had, the *Sunday* before,
 “ when it was declared, *that the next Sunday the*
 “ *Liturgy should be read.*—Yea, when it was de-
 “ fired, that the publishing them might be suf-
 “ pended for *one Month*, that the People might *Ibid. Vol. IV.*
 “ be the better prepared to submit to what they *p. 586.*
 “ had not been before acquainted with, that *Delay*
 “ could by no Means be obtained; but it was
 “ ordered to be entered upon the *next Sunday*,
 “ against the Advice of many of the Bishops
 “ themselves; which put the People into such a
 “ Fury, that they could not be appeased.”

And who now from this View of the Oppres-
 sions of the *Scots*, which Lord Clarendon himself
 gives, can either wonder at, or blame, their Stand-
 ing upon their Defence; and Resolving not to sacri-
 fice their Liberty and Religion to the King's arbi-
 trary Will. The *Liturgy*, thus violently and il-
 legally introduced, was received in their several
 Churches with hideous Clamours and Execrations,
 and with furious Insurrections and Tumults in the
 Streets.

“ The *Scots* sent up diverse Petitions to the
 “ King against the *Liturgy* and *Canons*, one in the
 “ Name of Men, Women, Children and Ser- Bennet's *Mem.*
 “ vants: Others in the Name of divers Noble- *p. 247.*
 “ men, Gentlemen, Ministers and Burgeffes,
 “ which were followed by *Protestations*, and what
 “ they called the *Tables*, which were distinct Com-
 “ mittees, one of the *Nobility*, another of the *Gen-*
 “ *try*, a third of the *Burroughs*, and a fourth of
 “ the *Ministers.*” “ And now they renew their

SOLEMN

Neal, *Vol. II.* " SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, formerly
p. 318. " subscribed by King *James* and his Household in
 " 1581, and by the whole *Scots* Nation in 1590,
 " with a *general Band* for Maintenance of true Re-
 " ligion and the King's Person."

Rapin, *Vol.* " The King resolved to levy an Army in *Eng-*
X. p. 366, 368. " *land* to reduce the *Scots* to Obedience. He
 " thought not proper to call a Parliament to en-
 " able him to raise the Forces he stood in Need of:
 " He summoned the Nobility to attend him at
 " *York*, followed each with as many Horſe as he
 " should be able to raise." Which was another
 " illegal and arbitrary Measure. " And obliged
 " all the Counties to find ſuch a Number of Foot,
 " Horſe, Dragoons, Artillery-Horſes and Am-
 " munition, as made his Army above 25,000
 " ſtrong."

The *Scots* ſent humble Petitions and Remon-
 ſtrances to his Maſteſty, but theſe were not diſre-
 garded only, but treated as criminal, " and broad
 " Hints given that he would receive no more Pe-
 " titions. A Committee of the Parliament of
 " *Scotland* ſent the Earl of *Dumferling* and the
 " Lord *Lowdon* to preſent a Remonſtrance to the
 " King; but he refuſed to give the Deputies Au-
 " dience. Upon the Earl of *Traquair*'s Report
 " only, and without hearing what the *Scots* had
 " to ſay in their Defence, the Council of *England*
 " declared with one Voice, *that it was abſolutely*
 " *neceſſary to reduce the Scots to their Duty by*
 " FORCE OF ARMS. But as this Reſolution
 " ſeemed a little too haſty, ſince it was not known
 " what the *Scots* might plead in their own Vindi-
 " cation, the King, perceiving how prejudicial
 " this too great Haſte might be to him, gave the
 " Committee of *Edinburgh* Leave to ſend their
 " Deputies: but this was only for Decency's Sake
 " —and to amuſe them, ſince the War with *Scot-*
 " *land* was already determined.

C H A P.

C H A P. XII.

*The KING's ambiguous and evasive Conduct
and Breaches of solemn Promises.*

AS the King is the Fountain of Honour, so the THRONE should be ever *Sacred*, and an Oracle of TRUTH. The Majesty of ROYALTY can never be supported, if the Person who sustains it descends to the Meaness of artful Equivocations, mental Reservations, insidious and evasive Answers, and Violations of solemn Promises. This foolish and false Policy, which in these Days was called KINGCRAFT, contributed not a little to the Misfortunes of this Reign: The King was not trusted: His Parliament had often found a great deal of Artifice and Insincerity in his Dealings with them; such as his most partial Advocates are puzzled to extenuate; no Concessions could hold, nor Promises bind him: And hence proceeded Jealousies and fatal Distrusts which opened a Floodgate to the Miseries which follow'd.

—“ This King, like his Father, sais *Rapin*, was
 “ very artful in the Choice of his Expressions: In
 “ his Proposals it was but too usual to find ambi- *Rapin, Vol.*
 “ guous Expressions, Restrictions and Conditions *XII. p. 435.*
 “ expressed or implied, which made it impossible
 “ to build securely upon such Foundations. There
 “ are several Instances of this in the King's Pa-
 “ pers—What he seemed to give with one Hand, *Ibid. Vol.*
 “ he immediately took away with the other.”— *X. p. 178.*
 “ The King was fickle and unstable, sais *Coke* his *Coke Det.*
 “ Apologist, easily put upon Things by his Fa- *p. 93.*
 “ vourites; and as suddenly altering them, and
 “ doing quite contrary.”

“ His Majesty gave his Royal Assent to the
 “ *Petition of Right* (a most important *Act*, being
 “ a kind

- “ a kind of second MAGNA CHARTA) where-
 “ by he bound himself, amongst other Things,
 “ not to raise any Money by Way of Loan, Gift,
 “ Benevolence or Tax, without Consent of Par-
 “ liament, nor to imprison any Person without
 Tindal's Cont. “ Certifying the Cause: both which Articles he
 Introd. p. 3. “ violated immediately after the Dissolution of
 “ this Parliament, and continued to do so for
 “ twelve Years together. This Breach of his
 “ *Parliamentary Word*, the most solemn a King
 “ can give, was afterward used as a strong Argu-
 “ ment that he would break through all his Con-
 “ cessions to the Parliament of 1640, as soon as
 “ it should be in his Power, and thereby proved
 “ one Occasion of the civil Wars—And when
 Tindal's Sum- “ the Parliament met again, they found that the
 mary, p. 119. “ *Petition of Right* had been inrolled and printed
 Whitelock's “ by the King's Order, not with the *right Answer*
 Mem. p. 11. “ and with *some Additions*.” A very mean and
 unkinglike Imposture upon the Publick, as well as
 Indignity to the Parliament.
 “ Concerning the Bill for Depriving the Bishops,
 Clarendon, “ Lord Clarendon insinuates, that in this and some
 Vol. II. p. 430. “ other Acts of no less Moment, *an Opinion that*
 “ *the Violence and Force used in Procuring them*
 “ *rendered them absolutely void, influenced the King*
 Tindal's Cont. “ *to confirm them*. This Insinuation seems to give
 Int. p. 8. “ Strength to the Suspicions of the leading Men
 “ in the House of Commons, that the King, if
 “ not prevented, would revoke his Concessions
 “ whenever it should be in his Power.”—Upon
 the same Principle, probably, his Majesty pro-
 Coke Detec. “ ceeded, “ when he solemnly consents in Parlia-
 p. 133. “ ment to the Extirpation of the (Episcopal) Hie-
 “ rarchy in *Scotland*, and established *Presbytery*
 “ there, as fully as the *Kirk* could desire.”
 The Parliament could have no Opinion of the
 King's *Veracity*, “ because they had been induced
 to

“ to advise a War with *Spain* by mere Artifice
 “ and Cunning ; and by a Narrative of the Duke
 “ of *Buckingham*, false in every Particular, tho’
 “ attested by King *Charles* when Prince—The Earl Rapin, Vol. X.
 pag. 29, 68.
 “ of *Bristol* plainly shewed, before the House of
 “ Lords, how much *Buckingham* had imposed
 “ upon the Parliament in his Narrative of what
 “ passed in *Spain*. This reflected on the King
 “ himself, who had not only attested the Relation,
 “ but persisted still to attest it as true:” though
 the Earl had incontestably proved it to be false.
 “ He made frequent Use of *mental Reservations*,
 “ couch’d in ambiguous Terms and general Ex-
 “ pressions, of which he reserved the Explication
 “ till a proper Time and Place. For this Reason Ib. Vol. XII.
 p. 582.
 “ the Parliament could never put any Confidence
 “ in his Promises, wherein there was always either
 “ some ambiguous Term, or some Restriction
 “ which rendered them of no Effect. This may
 “ be said to be one of the Principal Causes of his
 “ Ruine; for giving thereby Occasion of Distrust,
 “ it was not possible to find any Expedient to
 “ make Peace with the Parliament.”

In their Declaration of 1641 They tell the
 King, “ They could not but too well and too
 “ sorrowfully remember what *gracious Messages*
 “ they had from him the last Summer; when,
 “ with his Privity, the Bringing up the Army was
 “ in Agitation: And how not two Days before he Clarend. Vol.
 II. p. 447.
 “ gave Direction for the Accusation of the *Five*
 “ *Members*, and his own Coming to the House
 “ of Commons (to seize and hale them thence by
 “ Violence) that House received from him a
 “ *gracious Message*, that he would always have
 “ Care of their Privileges, as of his own Prero-
 “ gative; and of the Safety of their Persons, as
 “ of his own Children.”

“ His

Clarend. Vol.
II. p. 550,
562, 563.

" His Majesty called GOD to Witnefs (the
" Parliament further allege) that he never had any
" fuch Thought, or knew of any fuch Refolu-
" tion of Bringing up the Army; which muft feem
" ftrange (and even incredible) to thofe who fhould
" read the Depofition and Examinations of *Goring*,
" *Piercy*, *Wilmot*, *Pollard*, *Leg*, &c. and confider
" the Nature of the Petition fent to Sir *Jacob*
" *Afhley*, figned G. R. *Charles Rex*; which his
" Majesty had now acknowledged to be his own
" Hand—and to have been delivered by himfelf
" to Captain *Leg*."

Hift. Stu. pag.
78.

Coke Det.
p. 17.

Clarend. Vol.
II. p. 613.

The King's infidious and double Dealing as to
the *Papifts* is extremely notorious. " The *Lord-*
" *Keeper* had in his Majesty's Name promifed the
" Parliament at their Breaking up, that the Laws
" againft *Popifh* Priests fhould be rigoroufly put
" in Execution; yet on the very next Day, the
" King caufed a Warrant to be fealed to pardon
" fix Friars and Jefuits. *Bifhop Williams*, then
" *Lord-Keeper*, thought it a burning Shame for him
" who was of the reformed Religion, to affix the
" Seal to fuch a Warrant; which was brought
" twice to him, and he both Times refufed to
" pafs it. But the King commanded, and got it
" to be fealed in his Sight at *Hampton-Court*; the
" Parliament was immediately in a Flame, find-
" ing themfelves *dealt with fo DOUBLY*."

" In his Answer to the Parliament's Declaration
" of *May 19*. He defires GOD would no longer
" prosper or blefs his Actions, than they were di-
" rected to the Maintenance of the *true Proteftant*
" *Profeflion*; to the Prefervation of the Property
" and Liberty of the Subject, in the Obfervation
" of the Laws, and to the Maintenance of the
" Rights and Freedom of Parliament." How
far the King's Actions were truly directed to thefe
valuable Ends, is left to every one to judge? and
confe-

confequ
pect tha
To th
" no P
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" Orders
" and Ju
" bear al
" Catholi
" otherw
" fhould
" Penalti
" Statute
" the ju
" been a
" no Fait
" Hence
" trusted
" infinite

consequently what Ground his Majesty had to expect that God would prosper and bless him.

To the Parliament's earnest *Petition*, "(1) That
 " no Popish Recusant be admitted to come to
 " Court, but upon special Occasion, according to
 " Statute 3 *Jac.* It was in *Answer* solemnly re-
 " turned. *ANSW.* *This his Majesty promises.*
 " (2) That the Laws against Papists be put in
 " Execution, and that a Day be fixed for the
 " Departure of all Jesuits and Seminary Priests
 " out of the Kingdom. *ANSW.* *It shall be so* Neal, Vol. II.
 " *published by Proclamation.* (3) That your Ma- p. 163.
 " jesty will remove from Places of Authority and
 " Government all Popish Recusants. *ANSW.*
 " *His Majesty will give Order accordingly—*'Tis
 " surprising, says the Historian, that the King
 " should make these Promises to his Parliament,
 " within six Months after he had signed his Mar-
 " riage Articles, in which he had engaged (plight-
 " ing even his *Honour and Conscience*) to set all
 " *Roman Catholics* at Liberty, and to suffer no
 " Search or Molestation to be given them for
 " their Religion; and had in Consequence of it
 " pardoned twenty *Romish* Priests, and given
 " Orders to his *Lord-Keeper* to direct the Judges
 " and Justices of Peace all over *England*, to for-
 " bear all Manner of Proceedings against his *Roman-*
 " *Catholic Subjects*, by *Information, Indictment, or*
 " *otherwise; it being his Royal Pleasure that there*
 " *should be a Cessation of all and singular Pains and*
 " *Penalties to which they were liable by any Laws,*
 " *Statutes or Ordinances of this Realm.*"—But, as
 " the judicious *Rapin* observes—It seems to have
 " been a Maxim in this and the last Reign, *That*
 " *no Faith is to be kept with Parliaments.*
 " Hence it came to pass, " that the King was not
 " trusted at all: the Number of Malecontents was
 " infinite: His Majesty seemed to do every Thing
 H " that

Rapin, Vol.
XI. p. 305.

Inquiry into
Glamorgan's
Transact. p.
278.

“ that lay in his Power to increase their Number ;
 “ or at least not to trouble himself about it. And
 “ what inflamed still more the People's Discontent
 “ was the seeing the *Popish* Recusants not only
 “ tolerated, but countenanced and considered as
 “ the best Subjects—though his Majesty solemnly
 “ declared in his Speech to the Common-Council
 “ of London, *I do profess in the Name of a King*
 “ *that I did and ever will, and that to the utmost*
 “ *of my Power, be a Prosecutor of all such as shall*
 “ *any Ways oppose the Laws and Statutes of this*
 “ *Kingdom either PAPISTS or Separatists.*—And
 “ yet his Majesty could not resolve to execute the
 “ seven Priests legally condemned, though both
 “ Houses of Parliament had been very urgent
 “ with him to do it : And although he continu-
 “ ally promised to put the Laws in Execution a-
 “ gainst *Recusants*, his Promises had never been
 “ performed ; but on the contrary he trusted *Re-*
 “ *cusants* with the most important Posts.”

The King, in a Letter to the Marquis of Or-
 mond, Jan. 18, 1644-5, orders him to promise
 the *Irish* Rebels, that if they would give him the *As-*
sistance they had promised, he would consent to the Re-
peal of the Penal Laws against them by a Law.
 And in a Letter to the Queen, March 5, 1644-5.
 He promises to take away all the Penal Laws a-
 gainst the Roman Catholics in ENGLAND, if he
 might have their Assistance. And yet in a Message
 of his Majesty to the two Houses, April 8, 1642,
 he called GOD to witness, That he would NEVER
 consent, upon WHATSOEVER PRETENCE, to a
 Toleration of the *Popish* Profession, or Abolition of
 the Laws now in Force against *Popish* Recusants
 in Ireland. “ And in July, 1643, being just go-
 “ ing to receive the Sacrament from Archbishop
 “ *Usher's* Hands at Oxford, he made this solemn
 “ Protestation—May I so receive Comfort from
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" this blessed Sacrament, as I do intend the Establish-
 " ment of the true reformed Protestant Religion, as
 " it stood in its Beauty, in the happy Days of Queen
 " Elizabeth, without ANY CONNIVANCE at
 " POPERY! And may this Sacrament be MY
 " DAMNATION if my Heart do not join with my
 " Lips in this Protestation." " And yet (astonish-
 " ing to read!) the very next Day was Peace
 " given to the bloody Irish Rebels by the Cessation
 " then agreed on at Oxford: in which Toleration
 " was granted to the Catholicks of Ireland:" and
 in Treating of a Peace with those horrid Murther-
 ers he made no Scruple to grant them the same
 in the most ample Manner, as will presently ap-
 pear.

Alike hard is it to reconcile with Sincerity
 " his Majesty's Declaration from Newark (March
 " 9, 1641,) in which he very seriously disowned
 " all Correspondence Abroad for Engaging foreign
 " Aids: *We are confident, saith he, no sober honest*
 " *Man in our Kingdom can believe, that we are so*
 " *desperate or so senseless as to entertain such De-*
 " *signs as would bury our Name and Posterity in per-*
 " *petual Scorn and Infamy—* And yet at the very
 " same Time the Queen was soliciting for Suc-
 " cor from Lorrain; (ten thousand Men, by the
 " King's Privy and Direction) and Colonel Cok-
 " ran appointed to treat with the King of Den-
 " mark for Arms and Men to be sent over from
 " thence into England.

The King's Conduct as to the Condemnation of
 the Earl of Strafford seemed also not a little to
 reflect on his Veracity and Honour. " He had,
 " saith Lord Clarendon, been present at the Earl's
 " Trial, and heard all the Testimony given a-
 " gainst him, and had heard Nothing proved by
 " which he could believe that he was a Traitor,
 " either in Fact, or in Intention: and therefore

Ravin, Vol.
XII. pag. 169.

Hist. Stu. p.
243.

Bennet's Def.
Memor. p. 109.

King's Letter
to the Queen,
Feb. 19, 1644.

Clarend. Vol.
I. p. 241, 243.

Whitelocke's
Mem. p. 44.

Ibid. p. 36.

“ the King declared it to be much against his
 “ Conscience, and that he neither *could* nor *would*
 “ give his Royal Assent to the Bill of Attainder
 “ against him.”—“ He took Advice (as some
 “ report) of several of the Bishops, and others
 “ his intimate Counsellors, what to do in this in-
 “ tricate Affair : and that the Major Part of them
 “ urged to him the Opinion of the Judges *that*
 “ *this was Treason, and the Bill legal.* But what
 “ chiefly induced the King to pass the Bill, was
 “ said to be a Letter sent from the *Earl* himself,
 “ in which *he desires him to pass it* : and adds, *My*
 “ *Consent, Sir, herein shall more acquit you to God,*
 “ *than all the World can do besides : To a willing*
 “ *Man there is no Injury done*—After the King
 “ had sign’d the Bill, he sent Secretary Carleton
 “ to the *Earl* to acquaint him with what was done ;
 “ who seriously asked the *Secretary*, Whether his
 “ Majesty had passed the Bill ? As not believing
 “ without some Astonishment that the King would
 “ have done it. And being assured it was passed ;
 “ he rose up from his Chair, lift up his Eyes to
 “ Heaven, laid his Hand upon his Heart, and
 “ said *Put not your Trust in Princes, nor in the*
 “ *Sons of Men, for in them there is no Salvation.*
 “ Great Censures were past upon the King’s
 “ Signing this Bill, as a *Giving up his most faith-*
 “ *ful Servant.* Certainly he had great Remorse
 “ thereupon—For he had forced the *Earl*, con-
 “ trary to his earnest Desire, to appear in Parlia-
 “ ment, and promised *that they should not touch an*
 “ *Hair of his Head.*”
 “ The King’s former *Promise* of Protection,
 “ Archdeacon *Echard* observes, must needs be
 “ very uneasy to him in this Emergency—His
 “ Majesty was soon sensible of his Error, and al-
 “ ways remembered it with infinite Regret, and
 “ as the *just Cause* of all his Misfortunes. It is
 “ observed

“ observed that this Sin was one of those that carry Echard, *pag.*
 “ their own Punishment along with them, and 503.
 “ naturally produce it, abstractedly from the Re-
 “ morse of Conscience, and the Chastisement of
 “ Heaven—The King’s Mind was filled with
 “ relenting Thoughts and melancholy Reflec-
 “ tions.”

“ His Majesty sent for *Hollis*, whose Sister the
 “ Earl of *Strafford* had married (and who was
 “ of great Influence in the House of Commons)
 “ to know what he could do to save the Earl.
 “ *Hollis* advised the King to come next Day with
 “ a Petition in his Hands, and lay it before the
 “ two Houses, with a Speech which he drew for
 “ the King : and he said, he would try his Interest
 “ among his Friends to get them to consent to it.
 “ He prepared a great many by assuring them Burnet, *Vol. I.*
 “ that if they would save Lord *Strafford*, he would *P. 32.*
 “ become wholly theirs in Consequence of his first
 “ Principles. In this he had wrought on so
 “ many, that he believed if the King’s Party had
 “ struck into it, he might have saved him. It
 “ was carried to the Queen, as if *Hollis* had en-
 “ gaged that the Earl should accuse her, and dis-
 “ cover all he knew. So the Queen not only di-
 “ verted the King from going to the Parliament,
 “ changing the Speech into a Message, but to the
 “ Wonder of the whole World, the Queen pre-
 “ vailed with him to add that mean Postscript, *if*
 “ *he must die, it were Charity to reprieve him till*
 “ Saturday : which was a very unhandsome Giv-
 “ ing up the whole Message. When it was com-
 “ municated to both Houses, the whole Court
 “ Party was plainly against it: And so he fell
 “ truly by the Queen’s Means.”

Finally : it was this *Artifice* and *Disimulation*,
 with which the King’s Conduct too generally ab-
 ounded, that principally hastened his Catastrophe

Coke Det. p.
182.

at last. Whilst the Parliament were negotiating the Terms of his Restoration (when a Prisoner at Hampton-Court) "He made a secret Agreement with *Cromwel*; by which, if the King closed with the Propositions of the Army, *Cromwel* was to be advanced to a Degree higher than any other; to be *Vicar General* of England, as *Cromwel* was under *Henry VIII*.

While the Affair was transacting "the King wrote to the Queen, *That though he assented to the Armies Proposals, yet if thereby he could procure Peace, it would be easier then to take off Cromwel, than now he was the Head that governed the Army.*

"*Cromwel*, who had his Spies upon every Motion of the King, intercepts these Letters, and resolved never to trust the King again." And so finding Matters come to this dangerous Extremity that either the King or *Himself* must fall, from thence forward, tis thought, he resolved to secure *Himself* by the King's Execution.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the KING's magnified Piety, and Concern for real Religion.

Echard, pag.
447, 455.

"KING *Charles's* Court, *Echard* acknowledges, was corrupt in Manners: full of Excess, Idleness and Luxury. The greatest Part of his Ministers were chiefly intent upon their own Accommodation in their Fortunes, in which they did not abound; or in their Ease and Pleasure which they passionately affected: having no further Care of the Publick, than that no Disturbance might break in upon them in their own Days"—Masques were encouraged and

and highly relished by the King and Court, at *Hist. Stu. p.*
one of which the Expence was not less, tis said, ^{122.}
than 21,000 Pounds.

" The Custom of *Revels, Wakes* and other
" *Parish-Festivals*, on *Sundays* was at that Time
" grown to a great Enormity. Drunkenness,
" Lewdness and Riot were but the least Part of
" it; Fighting and Blood generally accompanied
" it. No County in *England* was then more de- *Ibid. p. 120.*
" bauched and disturbed by *Revels* and *Clerks Ales*
" than that of *Somerset*. At the earnest Request
" of the Gentlemen of that County (giving for
" Reason, at the *Affizes*, that many Persons had *Fuller, Book*
" been indicted for Murdering Bastards begotten at *XI. p. 147.*
" *Revels*, and for other grand Disorders occasioned
" by these intemperate Meetings) the Judges, *Rich-*
" *ardson* and *Denham*, with the Consent of the
" whole Bench, made an Order, that these Feasts *Rapin, Vol. X.*
" should be suppress'd on *Sundays*. But the Chief- *p. 272.*
" Justice, *Richardson*, being commanded to attend
" the Council-Board, was severely reprimanded,
" and enjoined (by the King) to revoke the Order
" made at the *Affizes*," " as he would answer the *Hist. Stu. p.*
" contrary at his Peril." ^{121.}

" Many, notwithstanding the late King's Pro-
" clamation, affecting still to forbid their Servants
" to play, to go to Ale-houses, or use any Recre- *Rapin, Vol. X.*
" ations on *Sundays*; King *Charles* renewed and *p. 272.*
" confirmed the *Proclamation* (of his blessed Fa-
" ther) COMMANDING, that the People should not
" be troubled or molested in their Recreations"—
" and declaring it his express Will and Pleasure that
" these FEASTS, WAKES, &c. shall be observed:
" and that all Neighbourhood and Freedom with
" Man-like and lawful Exercises be used: And the *Neil Vol. II.*
" Justices of Peace are commanded not to molest any *p. 250.*
" in their Recreations: and The King further re-
" quires, that Publication of this his COMMAND be

"made by Order from the BISHOPS, through all the
 "PARISH-CHURCHES of their several Dioceses re-
 "spectively."

Fuller's Ch.
 Hist. p. 147.

"Many moderate Men, saies Dr. Fuller, are
 "of Opinion that this Abuse of the *Lord's-Day*
 "was a principal Procurer of GOD's Anger
 "since poured out upon this Land, in a long and
 "bloody Civil War."—"Instead of convincing
 "the sober Part of the Nation, it struck them
 "with a kind of Horror, to see themselves in-
 "vited by the *Authority* of the King and Church,
 "to that which looked so like a Contradiction to
 "the *Command of GOD*. It was certainly ex-
 "tremely out of Character, for *Bishops* and *Cler-*
 "*gymen*, who should be the Supporters of Reli-
 "gion, to draw Men off from the Practice of it
 "in their Families and Closets, by enticing them
 "to publick Recreations. The Court had their
 "*Balls, Masquerades and Plays* on the *Sunday E-*
 "*venings*; while the Youth of the Country were
 "at their *Revels, Morrice Dances, May Games,*
 "*Church and Clerk Ales*, and all kinds of *Recrea-*
 "tions."

Neal, Vol. II.
 p. 250.

"The severe Pressing this Declaration made
 "sad Havock among the Puritan Clergymen for
 "seven Years. Many strained their Consciences
 "to read it. Some when they had read it, im-
 "mediately read the *Fourth Commandment* to the
 "People, *Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it*
 "*holy*; adding, *This is the Law of GOD*; the
 "other, *the Injunction of Man*."

Bennet's

Major p. 239.

"In this King's Reign also a severe Order was
 "published for the Putting down all Afternoon-
 "Sermons, under Pretence of Complying with
 "his Majesty's Instructions of Catechising by
 "Question and Answer: and not only all other
 "Catechisms, except that in the Common Prayer,
 "prohibited, but all *Expositions* even of this Ca-
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"techism, which Bishop Wren declared as bad as
 "a Sermon. Dr. Pierce Bishop of Bath and Wells
 "so effectually suppressed the Dangerous and ill
 "Practice of Preaching twice a Day, that he
 "gave GOD Thanks he had not one Lecture left in
 "all his Diocese. The Minister of Bridgwater
 "was suspended by him for Preaching on the
 "Sunday Evening, though a Funeral Sermon:
 "And another called to an Account for having
 "two Sermons in his Church on the Parish-Revel-
 "Day; the Bishop alledging, "Twas an Hin-
 "drance to the Revel, and to the Utterance of
 "Church Ale."

The King was indeed zealous for *Episcopacy*,
 and struggled hard to maintain it, and has there-
 fore been represented as dying a *Martyr* for it;
 but entirely without Reason. "For Anno 1641,
 "He solemnly passed an Act in Scotland, which *Hist. Stu. pag.*
 "condemned the Government of the Church by 179.
 "Archbishops and Bishops as contrary to the Word *Clarend. Vol.*
 "of GOD, and the Propagation of Religion; and *II. p. 308,*
 "gave away the Church Lands to some of the *309, 310.*
 "Covenanters"—"While he was in Person in *Ibid. Vol.*
 "Scotland, he resorted frequently to their Exercises *III. p. 67.*
 "of Public Worship." "And in his Proposals
 "at Newport he agreed to reduce *Episcopacy* to a *Rapin, Vol.*
 "very small Matter here in *England.*" *XII. p. 585.*

To his Honour it must be owned, that he was
 temperate, sober, chaste; nor was any King, per-
 haps, more punctual and regular in his Devotions
 both Publick and Private (a). But whether an
 Attempt violently pursued, and obstinately con-
 tinued in, to overthrow the Constitution and Go-
 vernment

(a) King Charles, like his blessed Father, swore frequently
 in Conversation: being once genteely reprehended by Mr. B—y
 for it, his Majesty gave him Thanks, and said he had done more
 than all his Chaplains had done for him.

vernment of a Nation; and to rob a flourishing People of *Liberties* and *Rights* dear to them as their Lives—Whether the Bringing a Variety of Fopperies and Superstitions into the Worship of GOD; and persecuting with extreme and unrelenting Severity great Numbers of his People, both Clergy and Laity, for not complying with his Injunctions, or presuming to express their Disapprobation of them—Whether, in Matters of the highest Moment, on which the Happiness of Society greatly depended, the Dealing doubly and insincerely; the Using artful Equivocations and mental Reservations; the Breaking solemn Promises, and promising Things in a solemn Manner with an Intention to revoke them when it should be in his Power—Whether the Encouraging by his Example and by his Authority Commanding Revels and Plays and all manner of Recreations and Sports on the *Lord's Day*; and the silencing, depriving and subjecting to extreme Sufferings Hundreds of godly Ministers for not publishing from their Pulpits this *Command of the King* to break the **COMMAND OF GOD**—Whether, finally, the great Corruption, Prophaneness, and Dissolution of Manners which confessedly reigned both in his Court and in his Camp—Whether these, I say, are apt to give, or will suffer any one to have, any exalted Idea of this Prince's *Piety* and *Religion*? The Reader is left to form what Judgment he pleases.

As to the Manners and Behaviour of those who attended him, Lord *Clarendon* every where complains of the Outrages and Violence they committed upon the People. “Those under the
“King's Commanders grew insensibly into all
“the License, Disorder and Impiety (*b*) with
“which

(*b*) Instead of a thousand Instances, with which the History of

“ which they had reproached the Rebels; and Clarend. Vol.
 “ They into great Discipline, Diligence and So- III. p. 384.
 “ briety; which begot Courage and Resolution
 “ in them, and notable Dexterity in Atchieve-
 “ ments and Enterprises.”

To conclude this Head, let it only be remem-
 bered—That a *Kingdom* or *Commonwealth* hath
 its Properties and Rights as much as a *single Per-
 son*: now if violently to invade and seise the Pro-
 perties of a *single Man* be undoubtedly a great
 Crime; much greater, surely, must it be to lay
 violent Hands upon those of a *Body Politick*, to
 seise and to ravish from them Properties and
 Rights upon which they put the highest Value;
 and in the Preservation of which the Happiness of
 Millions is deeply concerned. But of this high
 and great Crime tis impossible to acquit the
 King.

of those Days is full, I shall mention only one as a Sample of
 the Times. “ Some of *Gerrard's* Forces (a Commander under
 “ the King) fired the House of one who refused to pay a Tax Whitelock's
 “ assessed on him by *Gerrard*: The House being on Fire, the Mem. p. 134.
 “ Master of it and his two Sons leapt through a Window from
 “ the Rage of the Flames: but *Gerrard's* Men took and mur-
 “ thered them: The Man's Wife and his other Children were
 “ burnt in the Fire. By this may be seen the Nature of many
 “ other the like great Miseries under which our poor Country
 “ laboured at this Time.”

CHAP.

C H A P. XIV.

Of the Rebellion and Miseries in IRELAND: How far the KING is supposed to have had any culpable Concern in them?

Clarend. Vol.
VI. p. 508.

Ibid. Vol. II.
p. 299.

Hist. Stu. p.
179.

Neal, Vol. II.
p. 502.

“ I T was Ireland, says Lord Clarendon, which
 “ drew the first Blood. If they had not at
 “ that Time rebelled, and in that Manner, tis
 “ very probable all the Miseries which afterwards
 “ befel the King and his Dominions had been pre-
 “ vented. This *Rebellion* proved of infinite Dis-
 “ advantage to the King's Affairs, which were
 “ then recovering new Life.”
 “ While his Majesty was in *Scotland*, he received
 “ the News of this horrible Rebellion and Massacre
 “ in *Ireland*: where the *Papists* rose upon the *Protest-*
 “ *ants* on the 23d of *October* 1641. Never was there
 “ such a dreadful Butchery seen or heard of, ei-
 “ ther as to the Number of those who were but-
 “ chered or the Variety of Cruelties inflicted—Cut-
 “ ting of Throats and Stabbing were the mildest
 “ Treatment the *Protestants* met with. Some
 “ had their Eyes plucked out and were several
 “ Days dying in the most exquisite Torment:
 “ they were drown'd, burnt, buried alive, Mo-
 “ thers hung on the Gallows with their Children
 “ about their Necks; they were driven naked
 “ from their Houses into Bogs and Woods, where
 “ they perished with Hunger and Cold”—“ No
 “ Ties of Consanguinity, Neighbourhood, Friend-
 “ ship were capable of softening the obdurate
 “ Hearts of these execrable Villains: some they
 “ whipped to Death; others stript naked and ex-
 “ posed to Shame; Husbands were cut to Pieces in
 “ Presence of their Wives; and Wives and Virgins
 “ abused

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“ abused in the Sight of their nearest Relations:
 “ they taught their Children to strip and kill the
 “ Children of the *English* and dash out their Brains
 “ against the Stones”—“ In this Massacre which *Hist. Stu. p.*
 “ reached from one End of *Ireland* to the other 180.
 “ 200,000 Protestants perished.”

These horrible Murtherers “ called themselves
 “ the *Queen's* Army, and dispersed over all the
 “ Kingdom Copies of a Commission under the
 “ *Great Seal*, which they pretended to have from
 “ the King to authorise them to take Arms. This
 “ made deep Impressions upon the Minds of those
 “ who were already ill-affected to the King, and
 “ believed him capable of *any Thing*, to avoid *Rapin, Vol.*
 “ the Servitude they were preparing for him. In- *XL. p. 204.*
 “ deed the Sober and most Considerate did not
 “ think it probable that the King should be wil-
 “ ling to have his *Protestant* Subjects of *Ireland*
 “ massacred: but they suspected however that
 “ this Rebellion which broke out at such a Junc-
 “ ture, was not wholly owing to the Discontent
 “ of the *Irish*, and that it was very possible the
 “ King had stirr'd it up, to find the Parliament
 “ Employment and divert them from the Project
 “ they had formed.”

The two Houses of Parliament (*July 25, 1643*)
 set forth a Declaration against the King concern-
 ing this Rebellion: In which they bring a great
 many very strong presumptive, if not positive and
 irrefragable Proofs, that the Insurrection of the
Irish was encouraged, incited and even command-
 ed from *England*; and conclude thus——“ And
 “ therefore *the House* abundantly satisfied in their
 “ own Consciences and Judgments of the Truth
 “ thereof cannot but declare to the World, that
 “ by all these concurring Circumstances and con-
 “ vincing Proofs, they are persuaded that this un-
 “ heard of and monstrous Rebellion of *Ireland*
 “ was

Rapin, Vol.
XII. p. 182.

Ibid. p. 183.

Rushw. Coll.
Part III. Vol.
I. p. 775.

“ was projected, incited and assisted by those
 “ Counsels now only prevalent with *his Majesty*;
 “ That the *Queen*, with her *Romish* Priests, the
 “ Papists of all his Majesty's three Kingdoms
 “ have been principal Actors herein: That now
 “ these bloody Rebels have in a Manner rooted
 “ out the Protestant Religion in *Ireland*, there is
 “ a Design to pardon them, and to bring them
 “ into *England* to do the like—The *Declaration*
 “ is to be seen at large in *Rapin*, who says, “ It is
 “ true that some Steps taken by the King after-
 “ wards afford Room for many *Additions* to this
 “ *Manifesto*. I should (adds that impartial Histo-
 “ rian) according to my usual Method give here
 “ the King's *Answer* to every one of these Arti-
 “ cles: but I have not been able to discover any;
 “ or so much as to know whether he ever returned
 “ any Answer at all. Indeed he used his utmost
 “ Endeavours to clear himself from this Accusa-
 “ tion: but it was only by *Generals* and *Protesta-*
 “ *tions*, without replying to any particular Ar-
 “ ticle; no not even in his *Eikon Basilike* where
 “ he undertakes to vindicate his whole Conduct—
 “ It cannot be denied that there are some Articles
 “ in this Declaration, to which it were to be
 “ wished for the King's Honour, that he had re-
 “ turned distinct and particular Answers.”

What further greatly strengthened the Suspicions
 of the People, that the King too much approved
 and countenanced this Rebellion, was——“ That
 “ though the Rebels had most impudently stiled
 “ themselves the *QUEEN's Army*, and professed
 “ the Cause of their Rising was to maintain the
 “ *KING's Prerogative* and the *QUEEN's Reli-*
 “ *gion* against the Puritan Parliament in *England*;
 “ and thereupon both Houses of Parliament had
 “ humbly and earnestly advised his Majesty to
 “ wipe away this Scandal by Proclaiming them
 “ *Rebels*

" *Rebels and Traitors*; yet no Proclamation was
 " set forth to that Purpose till almost *three Months*
 " after the Breaking out of this Rebellion: and
 " then Command given that but *forty Copies* should
 " be printed; nor they published till further Di-
 " rections from his Majesty—" " This was the
 " more observable by the late contrary Proceed-
 " ings against the *Scots*; who were in a very Clarend. Vol.
 " quick and sharp Manner proclaimed; and those II. p. 550.
 " Proclamations forthwith dispersed with as much
 " Diligence as might be, throughout all the King-
 " dom, and ordered to be read in all Churches,
 " accompanied with publick Prayers and Execra-
 " tions"—It was farther alleged,

" That, when 5000 Foot and 500 Horse had
 " by the Parliament and Adventurers been de-
 " signed to be sent as a Brigade under Lord *Whar-*
 " *ton* to *Ireland*; the Commanders, Money, Rushw. ubi
 " Arms all prepared for the Expedition at the *supra*.
 " Charge of the Adventurers; and nothing want-
 " ing but a *Commission* from the King to enable
 " Lord *Wharton* for that Service, it could not be
 " obtained from his Majesty: by Reason of which
 " *Limerick* was wholly lost, and the Province of
 " *Munster* reduced to great Distress.

" That when divers pious and well affected
 " Persons had prepared twelve Ships and six Pin-
 " aces, with a 1000 or more Land Forces at their
 " own Charge for the Service of *Ireland*, and de-
 " fired nothing but a *Commission* from his Majesty
 " to enable them for it, this *Commission* also was de-
 " nied; after twice sending to *York* for it, and
 " the Ships lying ready to sail for three Weeks
 " together, at the Expence of near 300 Pounds a
 " Day.

" That notwithstanding the bleeding Condition
 " of *Ireland*, yet divers Commanders and Offi-
 " cers in Pay and actual Employment there a-
 " gainst

“gainst the Rebels, were called away from that
 “important Service, by the exprefs Command of
 “of the King. That the Parliament having made
 “great Provisions of Cloaths for the poor Sol-
 “diers in *Ireland*, for their present Succor, 600
 “Suits sending thither, as also a great Number of
 “Draught Horses for the Artillery and Baggage
 “of the *Irish* Army, were seized and detained by
 “the King’s Soldiers and Servants, and not suf-
 “fered to proceed.

“That *Kettleby* the Admiral and *Stradling* the
 “Vice-Admiral of the Ships, directed to lie upon
 “the Coast of *Ireland* to annoy the Rebels, and
 “to prevent the bringing to them Ammunition
 “and Relief from foreign Parts, were both called
 “away from that Employment by his Majesty’s
 “Command: by which the Rebels received Pow-
 “der, Ammunition and Relief.”—“That after
 “the Ports of the Kingdom had been stopt against
 “all *Irish* Papists by both Houses, many Com-
 “manders, who afterwards appeared in the Head
 “of the Rebel Army, had been suffered to pass
 “by his Majesty’s immediate Warrant.”

Whether King *Charles*, like a tender Father of
 his People, was zealous to suppress this monstrous
 Rebellion; and to rescue the distressed and terri-
 fied Remains of his Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*
 from the Hands of their bloody Enemies, must be
 left to every one to judge as Evidence shall incline
 him. There is one Fact, not generally taken No-
 tice of in the Histories of these Times, which
 seems to throw further Light upon this dark Af-
 fair. *Sidney Earl of Leicester* (whom Lord *Clar-*
endon represents, “as not well look’d on by the
 “Parliament, but a Man of Honour, faithful to
 “the King and heartily solicitous for the Succor
 “of *Ireland* and for his Majesty’s Service there”)
 had some Time before been made by the King
 Lord

Hist. Stu. p.
191.

Clarend. Vol.
III. pag. 161,
201.

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Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*: The Parliament, upon the Breaking out of this detestable Rebellion, was for hastening him over with all possible Expedition, Affairs in that Kingdom requiring his Presence: But still his Departure was *deferred*: The Earl apprehending this Delay might be imputed to him as a Neglect of Duty, writes a Letter to the Earl of *Northumberland* to excuse himself, and give the Reasons of his Delay. An Abstract of which follows.

“ Lest I should incur the Censure of the Parliament for Negligence in that Service to which I have been designed, I will truly relate to your Lordship how I have behaved—I have been impatient of this Delay and diligently solicited my Dispatch. When I came to *York*, I told the King I was come to receive his Majesty’s Commands and Instructions for the Employment he had done me the Honour to confer upon me: I humbly besought him, that I might not be staid at Court, because the Parliament desired my speedy Repair to *Ireland*, and his Service, I conceived, required it, at least that some Governor, if I were not worthy of that Charge, should *presently* be sent into that Kingdom. The King told me he would think of it. But I must confess I did not find his Majesty so ready to dispatch me, as I hoped and expected. From that Time I did not fail to beseech his Majesty to send me away, every Opportunity I had of speaking to him: Divers Times I made Petition to the King that he would dispatch me, or declare his Intention that he would not let me go at all: He said my Instructions should be drawn. In Expectation thereof I staid three Weeks longer, till the King came from *York*. He appointed me to follow him to *Nottingham*, promising that there

Bennet’s Def.
Mem. p. 93.

I

“ I should

" I should have my Expeditions. I obey'd, and
 " came after his Majesty to this Town, where I
 " have attended ever since, perpetually soliciting
 " to be dispatched; and beseeching that I might
 " either go to my Employment, or have Leave
 " to retire to my own House—Tis to no Purpose
 " to tell you every Passage, but this I protest to
 " your Lordship, that if it had been to save the
 " Lives of all my Friends and of myself, I could
 " not have done more to procure my Dispatch.
 " Nevertheless I have not been able to advance it
 " one Step, nor seen any thing to make me hope
 " to have it quickly, till this Morning a Draught
 " of my Instructions was given me to peruse"—
 These strange Delays in the King are far from
 Helping to clear him of Suspicions of secretly Fa-
 vouring the Rebellion.

Further. The *Truce and Cessation of Arms* (a),
 which his Majesty, contrary to his solemn Pro-
 mise, entered into with these *Irish* Cut-Throats,
 was a Circumstance not at all favourable to his
 Character as to this Matter. " The Marquis of
 " Ormond had given the Rebels there a very signal
 " Defeat: but soon after he received a Commis-
 " sion from the King to *treat with our Subjects,*
 " *who have taken Arms against us, and to agree*
 " *with them upon a CESSATION.* He accordingly
 " enters into an Agreement with those execrable
 " Murtherers, in the Articles of which they are
 " stiled *his Majesty's GOOD SUBJECTS.* To
 " make way for this infamous Treaty Sir William
 " Parsons, one of the Lords Justices, was turned
 " out of his Place; as were also Sir John Temple
 " Master

Hist. Stu. p.
 241.

(a) Note, This *Cessation* with the *Irish* Rebels was resolved
 on by the King, long before the Parliament's Negotiation with
 Scotland; and long before the Scots Resolution to levy an Army
 Vid. *Inquiry into Glamorgan's Transactions*, p. 317.

“ Master of the Rolls, Sir *Adam Loftus* Under-
 “ Treasurer of *Ireland*, and Sir *Rob. Meredith* a
 “ Privy-Counsellor for dissuading this *Cessation* as
 “ dangerous, scandalous and illegal—” “ The
 “ *Cessation* was concluded, says *Echard*, upon *Echard, pag.*
 “ Condition that the Rebels should pay to his Ma- 581.
 “ jesty’s Use 30,000 Pounds Sterling within a
 “ short Time: whereof one Moiety in Money;
 “ and the rest, half in Money, and half in good
 “ Beeves—”; “ But after the *Cessation* the *Irish* *Whitelock’s*
 “ Rebels committed many cruel Murthers there.” *Mem. pag. 73.*
 —“ In one of the King’s Letters to the
 “ Queen, taken at *Naseby* Fight, his Majesty de- *Coke Detec.*
 “ clared his Intention to make a Peace with the *Irish* *p. 170.*
 “ Rebels, and to have 40,000 of them over into *Whitelock’s*
 “ England to prosecute the War here—” “ He *Mem. p. 147.*
 “ would not allow them to be called *Rebels*; inso- *Hist. Stu. p.*
 “ much that when Sir *Edward Walker* gave the 240.
 “ King his Manuscript Memoirs, wherever the
 “ Term *Rebels* was used, he struck it out, and
 “ with his own Hand wrote *Irish*, as *A. Wood*,
 “ the *Oxford* Historian himself, informs us.”

Whilst the King was at *Oxford* two *Irish* Papists;
 the Lord *Dillon* and the Lord *Taafe*, were in high
 Favour with the Court there, which gave great
 and just Offence—“ Mr. *Jephson* told Lord *Falk-* *Ibid.*
 “ land, then Secretary of State, There were two
 “ Lords about the King, who to his Majes-
 “ ty’s great Dishonour and the great Discou-
 “ ragement of his good Subjects did make Use
 “ of his Majesty’s Name to encourage the *Re-*
 “ bels: That he had seen two Letters sent by the
 “ Lord *Dillon* and the Lord *Taafe* to the Lord
 “ *Muskerry*, the chief Man in the Rebellion at
 “ *Munster*, intimating, that though it did not
 “ stand with the Conveniency of his Majesty’s
 “ Affairs to give him publick Countenance; yet
 “ the King was well pleased with what he had

- “ done, and would in Time give him Thanks for
 “ it: Which Letters were also seen by the Lord
 “ *Inchiquin*, General of the *English* Forces in
 “ *Munster*, and by his Secretary who took Co-
 “ pies of them, which should be forthcoming—
 “ My Lord *Falkland* replied, *they deserve to be*
 “ *hanged*: but the Matter was no further enquired
 “ into——” “ Agents from these bloody Rebel
 “ *Irish* were admitted by the Court at *Oxford*, to
 “ whom the King, when he took his Leave of
 “ them, said, *We have both need of one Another,*
 “ *that we neither of us may fail of what we design.*”
 “ The Cessation being made, many of the *Irish*
 “ Rebels came over into the King’s Service here
 “ under Colonel *Ernely*.
 “ The *Cessation* being concluded, “ the King
 “ formed also the Project of a *Peace* with these
 “ Rebels, that he might employ not only the rest
 “ of the *English* Troops, but also a good Body of
 “ *Irish*, whom he intended to send for into *Eng-*
 “ *land*. But to make *Peace* with the *Irish*, they
 “ must necessarily be satisfied in Point of *Religion*.
 “ This the King could not do without Running-
 “ counter to all his Protestations of Zeal for the
 “ *Protestant* Religion, and confirming in some
 “ Measure the Suspicions of those who believed
 “ him to have had an Hand in the *Irish* Rebel-
 “ lion. In a Word, he could not take this Step
 “ without Relinquishing the Interests of the *Irish*
 “ *Protestants*, and giving the *Catholicks* there such
 “ Advantages, as would render them very supe-
 “ rior to the *Protestants*. He must likewise for-
 “ sake the Interests of *England*, and cause her to
 “ lose in great Measure the Dominion she had al-
 “ ways had over *Ireland*, since the Conquest of
 “ that Kingdom. Nay he was in Danger of los-
 “ ing many Friends in *England* by such a Step.
 “ Those who were sincerely attach’d to him, and
 “ persuaded

Hist. Stu. p.
275.

Whitelock's
Mem. p. 71, 73.

Rapin, V. XII.
p. 329.

"persuaded that he acted upon Motives of Justice and Religion, must needs have their Eyes opened, when they saw him manifestly betray the Interests of England, and the Protestant Religion, if he concluded with the Irish such a Peace as they demanded."—

But notwithstanding all these Difficulties ("And though the Parliament of Ireland, Lord Clarendon informs us, then sitting, sent Commissioners to the King, in the Name of the Protestants in that Kingdom, to prevent the Making any Peace, and with a Petition to dissolve the Cessation which had been made: And Commissioners also came from the Lord Lieutenant and Council, whereof some were of the Privy Council, assuring the King, that there could be no Security for the Protestants in that Kingdom, but by Leaving the Irish without any Capacity or Ability to trouble them: for their Perfidiousness was such, that they could not be trusted; and therefore they must be put into such a Condition, by being totally disarmed, that they should not be able to do any Mischief; or that all the Protestants must leave the Kingdom to the entire Possession of the Irish."—But notwithstanding all this) "As the King hoped that with the Aid he should draw from Ireland, he should be able to give Law to the Parliament, and then be obliged to use no farther Ceremony; he resolved not to debar himself of such an Advantage, but to grant the Irish whatever they demanded. Accordingly, the Earl of Glamorgan was authorised by the King (by a Warrant under his Royal Signet) to treat with these bloody Rebels, and to grant them all their Demands, on Condition they would furnish him with a Body of 10,000 Men who should come into England.

Clarend. Vol.
IV. p. 556.

Rapin, Vol.
XII. p. 330.

—The Date of this Warrant (Rapin well observes)

“ serves) is remarkable : It was at a Time when
 “ the King’s Affairs did not seem to require ab-
 “ solutely his Making Use of the *Irish* Catholicks.
 “ In the foregoing Campaign he had gained a sig-
 “ nal Advantage over the Earl of *Essex*, with all
 “ the Western Counties. It was just after the
 “ Treaty at *Uxbridge*, where he did not think
 “ himself under a Necessity of Making any Con-
 “ cessions. In a Word ; it was at a Time when
 “ the Parliament, by Reason of the ill Success of
 “ their Arms, were employed in New Modelling
 “ their Army. It cannot therefore be said it was
 “ through Despair that the King was driven to
 “ make Use of the Assistance of the *Irish* : it is
 “ rather very easy to perceive, it was solely to
 “ increase the Superiority he then had over the
 “ Parliament.”

Clarendon,
Vol. V. p. 204.

Lord *Clarendon* acknowledges, “ that as this
 “ Peace with the *Irish* provided for the Exercise
 “ of the Roman-Catholick Religion, so it did it
 “ in so *immoderate* and *extravagant* a Manner, as
 “ made it obnoxious to all the Protestants of the
 “ King’s Dominions.”

In this infamous Treaty (a) the King solemnly
 engages and promises,

“ I. That all the Professors of the *Roman-Catho-
 “ lick* Religion in *Ireland* shall enjoy the free and
 “ publick Use and Exercise of their Religion.

Rapin, *Vol.
 XII. p. 334.*

“ II. That they shall hold and enjoy all the
 “ Churches in that Kingdom, which they are ei-
 “ ther now in Possession of, or which have been
 “ enjoyed by them, for four Years last past : and
 “ all

(a) These dark Transactions of the Earl of *Glamorgan*, and
 the undoubted Concern which the King had in them, see fully
 laid open, in a late curious Treatise intitled, *An Inquiry into the
 Share which K. CHARLES I. had in the Earl of GLAMOR-
 GAN’S Transactions, &c.* printed 1747.

“ all other Churches which are not now actually
“ enjoyed by his Protestant Subjects.

“ III. That the *Roman-Catholicks* shall be ex-
“ empted from the Jurisdiction of the Protestant
“ Clergy and the *Roman-Catholick* Clergy shall
“ not be molested in the Exercise of their Jurif-
“ diction over their respective *Catholick* Flocks.

“ IV. That an Act shall pass in the next Par-
“ liament to be holden in *Ireland* ratifying these
“ Concessions.—

“ VII. The *confederate Catholicks* engage the
“ publick Faith of the Kingdom of *Ireland* to
“ send over Ten Thousand Men armed, to serve
“ his Majesty in *England, Wales, or Scotland*: And
“ that two Thirds of the Clergy's Revenues should
“ be employed for the Space of three Years for
“ their Maintainance.

“ *Note.* The King had most solemnly assured
“ the Parliament, that he would *never consent*, Clarend. Vol.
“ upon *whatsoever Pretence*, to a Toleration of II. p. 492.
“ the Popish Profession in *Ireland*, or the Aboli-
“ tion of the Laws in Force against Popish Recu-
“ sants in that Kingdom.”

“ *Whitelock* says, several of the *Irish* Officers
“ and Soldiers came over with the King's Army
“ —*Eight Hundred* native *Irish* Rebels landed at Whitelock, p.
“ *Weymouth* under Lord *Inchequin*: (Four Regi- 130.
“ ments of them more landed in *Wales*:) another
“ Party at *Beaumaris*, which committed great Spoils, Neal, Vol. III.
“ destroying with Fire what they could not carry p. 85, 86.
“ off. Another Party landed near *Chester* under
“ the Earl of *Cork*; and 1500 were cast away at
“ Sea. These Wretches brought hither the same
“ savage Disposition as they had discovered in
“ their own Country; they plundered and killed
“ People in cold Blood, observing neither the
“ Rules of Honour nor the Laws of Arms”—
“ In the Victory won by *Fairfax* over the King's

Whitelock, p.
77.

Ibid. p. 103.

Neal, *Ubi
supra.*

Whitelock,
p. 77.

“Troops at *Nantwich*, amongst the Slain were
“found 120 *Irish* Women with long Knives.”
—“Some of the *Irish* Rebels under Prince *Rupert*
“stripped naked aged and unarm’d Persons;
“some they inhumanly murdered; others they
“half hang’d and afterwards burnt their Flesh off
“from their Bodies to the bare Bones, and yet
“suffered them to live in Torture.”—“This un-
“happy Management of the King alienated the
“Affections of great Numbers of his Friends
“who had the Protestant Religion at Heart.
“Many, who wish’d well to his Person, deserted
“him upon this Occasion, and made their Peace
“with the Parliament, as the Earls of *Holland*,
“*Bedford*, *Clare*, *Carlisle*, Sir *Edw. Deering* and
“others: this last Gentleman publish’d the Rea-
“sons of his Conduct: the chief of which were,
“the *Irish* Cessation; (the Seeing so many *Irish*
“Rebels in the King’s Army;) the King’s pre-
“ferring *Popish* Officers to chief Places of Trust
“and Honour; and the Language of the *Oxford*
“Clergy and others, that *the King should come no*
“*other Way to his Palace than by Conquest*——
“Many of the Earl of *Newcastle*’s Soldiers (who
“was the King’s General) in the North, upon the
“News of the *Irish* Cessation, threw down their
“Arms and offered a Composition: And the
“Parliamentary Chronicle saith, that this single
“Action lost the King all the Northern Coun-
“ties.”

The King not only made this Peace with the
Rebel *Irish* Catholicks, but to the Earl of *Glamor-
gan* (a principal Leader amongst them, and Confi-
dent of the Pope’s *Nuncio* there, by whom their
Affairs were directed) he writes, in a Letter dated
July 20th, 1646, “If you can raise a large Sum
“of Money by *Pawning my Kingdoms* for that
“Purpose, I am content you should do it. And
tell

"tell the *Nuncio* that if once *I can come into his* *Mem. of Nun-*
 "and your Hands, which ought to be extremely *cio Rinuccini,*
 "wish'd for by you both, *I will do it.* If I do *Fol. 1373.*
 "not say this from my Heart, or if in any fu-
 "ture Time I fail you in this, may GOD never
 "restore me to my Kingdoms in this World, nor
 "give me eternal Happiness in the next."

So that his Majesty seems fully resolved at this
 Time, to put himself into the Hands of the *Irish*
 Rebels, and gives them Leave to expect from him
 great Countenance and Favour. The *Nuncio* about
 the same Time wrote to Cardinal *Pamphilio* at
 Rome, "That the Confederates of *Ireland* have it
 "in their View to transport the Holy-Faith into *Ib. Fol. 1376.*
 "England by their Arms; and that they had de-
 "termined to send over 10,000 Men to the King
 "from their Country to that Purpose."

"But *Whitelock* sais it was observed that the *Whitelock's*
 "*Irish* coming over hither, never did any Service *Mem. p. 79.*
 "considerable to the King; but were cut off,
 "some in one Place, some in another; in all
 "Places the Vengeance of God follows blood-
 "thirsty Men."

As to the *Authors* of this most execrable Insur-
 rection and Massacre in *Ireland*, and the secret
 Springs from which it originally flow'd, a late ju-
 dicious Historian gives this Account—"The
 "Earl of *Antrim* and Sir *Phelim O Neal*, who
 "were at the Head of the *Irish* Catholics, hav-
 "ing acquainted the Pope's *Nuncio* and some of
 "the Priests about the Queen, how easily they
 "could assume the Government of *Ireland*, and
 "assist the King against the *English*, Letters were
 "writ in the *Queen's* Name, and, perhaps, in
 "the *King's*, authorising them to take up Arms
 "and seize the Government. The *Irish* received
 "the Orders with Pleasure; but concluded fur-
 "ther among themselves, that it was necessary at
 "the

Neal, Vol. II.
p. 503.

“ the same Time to extirpate the Protestants out
 “ of that Kingdom, before they could with Safe-
 “ ty transport themselves to *England*. That this
 “ was their Design appears from their *Remonstrance*
 “ published the very Day of their Insurrection,
 “ in which they say—*That having some Liberty of*
 “ *Religion granted them by the King, they perceived*
 “ *the Parliament was wresting his Majesty's Preroga-*
 “ *tive from him, in Order to extinguish their Religion :*
 “ *therefore to support his Majesty's Prerogative, and*
 “ *confirm his Royal Love to them, they had taken up*
 “ *Arms*——

“ They called themselves the *QUEEN's Army*,
 “ and published a Proclamation from their Camp
 “ at *Newry*, declaring, that they acted by the
 “ *KING's Commission*, under the Great Seal of
 “ *Scotland*, dated at *Edinburgh Octob. 1.* and by
 “ Letters under his Sign Manual of the same Date
 “ with the Commission; which, I believe with
 “ Lord *Clarendon*, was a Forgery; though tis a
 “ little (rather extremely) unaccountable, that his
 “ Majesty should never, by any publick Act or
 “ Declaration of his own, clear himself of so vile
 “ a Calumny. But though the *KING* (perhaps)
 “ gave out no *Commission*; there is too much Rea-
 “ son to believe, that the *QUEEN* and her Popish
 “ Council, and even the *KING* himself was not
 “ *unacquainted* with the Design of an Insurrection
 “ before it took Place: and that her Majesty gave
 “ it all the Countenance she could. But when
 “ these bloody Butchers overacted their Part to
 “ such a Degree, as to massacre near 200,000
 “ Protestants in cold Blood, to make Way for
 “ their Empire, it was Time for all Parties to
 “ disown them.

“ Though it cannot be proved, saith another
 “ Author of great Weight, that he excited the
 “ *Irish* Rebellion, it may however be affirmed, it

“ was

“ was not against him that the *Irish* took Arms; Tindal's *Summary*, 8vo.
 “ since they never had less Reason to complain, Vol. II. p. 305.
 “ than in this and the late Reign. Besides, the
 “ PAPISTS, both *Irish* and *English*, always look'd
 “ upon this Prince as their Protector, and were
 “ ever ready to assist him. Had he succeeded
 “ in his Designs, very likely, the Condition of
 “ the Catholics in *England* and *Ireland*, would
 “ have been much more happy, and the penal
 “ Laws in great Measure repealed.”

Whitelock affirms, “ that the *Irish* Rebels entered into a Catholicick Covenant, and sent their Agents to the King to have a free Catholicick Parliament; and they had Countenance at Oxford.” *Whitelock's Mem.* p. 81.

Bishop Burnet says, “ That in the first Design of an Insurrection (which all the *Irish* believed the Queen encouraged) there was no Thought of a Massacre; that came in Head as they were laying the Methods of executing it. So, as those were managed by the Priests, they were the chief Men that set on the *Irish* to all the Blood and Cruelty that followed”——“ How far the Pope's *Nuncio* and the Queen's Council might be consulted about the Massacre, is a Secret: But if we distinguish between the Insurrection, to assume the Government into the Hands of the *Irish* Papists, and the Massacre which attended it, we may conclude, without any Breach of Charity, that the *English* Court admitted of the former, though they might (perhaps) wash their Hands of the latter”——
 “ There is too much Reason, says *Rapin*, to suspect that his Majesty had an Hand in the *Irish* Rebellion: considering in what Juncture of Time it broke-out; and the Rebels Declarations that they had the King's and Queen's Authority for what they did.” *Burnet's Hist. Tim.* Vol. I. p. 43.
Neal, Vol. II. p. 505.
Rapin, Vol. XI. p. 305.

But

But at the *Restoration* of King *Charles II* there happened a most memorable and extraordinary Event which gave great Light into this dark and most detestable Affair. Which take from Bishop *Burnet*——“ The Marquis of *Antrim* (who had “ been at the Head of the *Irish* Rebellion (a), “ and whose Estate was confiscated) was thought “ guilty of so much Bloodshed that it was taken “ for granted he could not be included in the In- “ demnity that was to pass in *Ireland*. Upon this “ he came over to *London*, and petitioned the “ King, to order a Committee of Council to ex- “ amine the Warrants that he had acted upon. “ A Committee was ordered, of which the Earl “ of *Northumberland* was the Chief (who related “ this to the Earl of *Essex*, from whom the Bi- “ shop had it) He produced to them some of the “ King’s (*Charles I*) Letters: But they did not “ come up to a full Proof. In one of them the “ King wrote, that he had not then Leisure, but “ referred himself to the Queen’s Letter; and “ said, that was all one as if he writ himself. “ Upon this Foundation he produced a Series of “ Letters writ by Himself to the Queen, in which “ he gave her an Account of every one of these “ Particulars, which were laid to his Charge, and “ shewed the Grounds he went on, and desired “ her Directions to every one of these. He had “ Answers ordering him to do as he did. This “ the Queen-Mother (who was then at Court) ef- “ poused

Burnet’s Hist.
Tim. Vol. I.
p. 42.

Clarendon. Vol.
IV. p. 607,
609.

Burnet, Vol. I.
p. 38.

(a) Lord *Clarendon* saith of him —— That at the Breaking out of the Rebellion “ he betook himself to the Rebels——that “ they were glad of his Presence—— that he was very odious to “ the Protestants and obnoxious to the State at *Dublin*, because “ many Things were discovered against him of his Correspondence with the Rebels.”——“ He was the main Person in “ the first Rebellion, was much relied on by the Queen, and “ was the most engaged in Blood-shed of any in the North.”

"pouſed with great Zeal; and ſaid, ſhe was
 "bound in Honour to ſave him——So a Report
 "was prepared to be ſigned by the Committee,
 "ſetting forth, that he had ſo fully juſtified him-
 "ſelf in every Thing objected to him, that he
 "ought not to be excepted out of the *Indemnity*.
 "This was brought firſt to the Earl of *Northum-*
 "*berland* to be ſigned by him (as Chairman) But
 "he reſuſed it; and ſaid, he was *ſorry he had pro-*
 "*duced* SUCH WARRANTS, but he did not think
 "they could ſerve his Turn; for he did not be-
 "lieve ANY WARRANT *from the KING or QUEEN*
 "could juſtify ſo much Blood-ſhed, in ſo many
 "black Inſtances, as were laid againſt him. Up-
 "on the Earl's Reſuſal, the reſt of the Commit-
 "tee did not think fit to ſign the Report. So it
 "was let fall. And the King (*Charles II*) was
 "prevailed on to write to the Duke of *Ormond*
 "(Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*) telling him, that
 "he (*Antrim*) had ſo *vindicated himſelf* that he
 "muſt get him included in the *Act of Indemnity*"
 "——" And reſtore his Eſtate, becauſe it appeared
 "to thoſe appointed to examine it, that what
 "he did was by *his Father's ORDER or CONSENT*.
 "The Lord *Mazarine*, and others in *Ireland*, not
 "fully ſatiſfied with this, thought fit ſo far to Calamy's
 "proſecute the Matter, as that the Marquis of *Abridg. Vol.*
 "*Antrim* was forced to produce in the *House of I. p. 43.*
 "*Commons* a Letter of King *Charles I*, by which *he*
 "gave him ORDER *for the Taking up Arms*: which
 "being read in the *House*, produced a *general*
 "SILENCE."

In the Letter of King *Charles II*, to the Duke
 of *Ormond* abovementioned, writ with his Majeſ-
 ty's own Hand, and entered in the Signet Office,
 July 13, 1663, there is this remarkable Paſſage
 ——" That the Referrees who had examined
 " the Marquis of *Antrim's* Caſe, had declared to
 " him,

Neal, Vol. II.
p. 507.

“ him, that they had seen *several Letters, all of*
 “ *them of the Hand-writing of our ROYAL FATHER*
 “ *to the said Marquis, and several Instructions*
 “ *concerning his Treating with the Irish in*
 “ *Order to the King's Service. That besides*
 “ *Letters and Orders under his Majesty's own*
 “ *Hand, there was sufficient Evidence and Testi-*
 “ *mony of several Messages and Directions sent*
 “ *from our ROYAL FATHER, and our Royal Mo-*
 “ *ther with the Privy and Direction of the KING*
 “ *our FATHER, by which it appears, that WHAT-*
 “ *EVER CORRESPONDENCE or ACTINGS the said*
 “ *Marquis had with the Confederate Irish Catho-*
 “ *licks, was DIRECTED and ALLOWED by the said*
 “ *Letters and Instructions: and that the KING him-*
 “ *self was well pleased with what the Marquis did*
 “ *after he had done it, and approved of the*
 “ *same.*”

Pierce's Vind.
Diff. p. 196.

“ This Letter was read twice, in one Day, in
 “ the *Court of Claims in Ireland*, before thousands
 “ of People; and among the rest a Person of
 “ Quality, whose Papers I have used, who then
 “ took a Copy of it; and heard *eight* of the
 “ twelve Qualifications (any *one* of which being
 “ proved against a Person, he was to be declared
 “ *nocent*, and his Estate forfeited) proved upon
 “ him, *Antrim*, by substantial Evidence; as, that
 “ by his Commission many thousand Head of
 “ Cattle were driven away, and People murder'd;
 “ and that in the Town of *Cashel*, by his Com-
 “ mission 1200 Throats of Men, Women and
 “ Children were cut in one Night in cold Blood;
 “ with others of the same Nature. But the Com-
 “ missioners would not hear any more.” (a)

Note.

(a) Mr. Carte's Attempts to vindicate the King as to this
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Note. Here is a great deal of Blood-shed in many black Instances, proved upon Antrim, before the Earl of Northumberland and the Committee of Council: but he produces Letters from the KING, Charles I, warranting and authorising him to do as he had done. The Committee do not pretend any Forgery in these Letters, but seem perfectly satisfied that they were genuine and authentick: they declare themselves "Sorry that he was able to produce SUCH WARRANTS; but yet that they did not think ANY WARRANT from the King or Queen could justify so much Blood-shed in so many black Instances." A plain Proof that they thought he really had such Warrant for the Blood-shed he had committed. And then to perfect the Evidence, and put the Matter out of all Doubt, Behold! the Son of this unhappy Father, Charles II, stands forth, and declares in a Letter to the Duke of Ormond—"That besides several Letters and Orders under his Royal Father's OWN HAND; there was sufficient Evidence and Testimony of several Messages and Directions sent from his ROYAL FATHER, by which it appears that WHAT-EVER CORRESPONDENCE or ACTINGS Antrim had with the confederate Irish Catholics they were directed and allowed by the said Letters and Instructions, and that the KING himself was well pleased with what he (Antrim) had done, and approved the same." Who now, after such Evidence, can think the Character of this unhappy Prince free from deep Stain as to this Irish Rebellion? Many horrid and black Instances of Blood-

black Affair, are considered and shewn to be insufficient, in BENNET's Defence of his Memorial, &c. And in a late curious Tract intitled, *An INQUIRY into the Share which K. CHARLES I had in the Transactions of the Earl of GLAMORGAN, &c.* printed 1747.

Blood-shed and Cruelty had been proved upon *Antrim*: but he undeniably shewed that he had acted by the KING's *Warrant* in what he had done: and King *Charles II* affirms, and gives it under his Hand, that *all his Actions* with the bloody *Irish* were authoris'd, directed and approved by his *Royal Father*. Accordingly *Antrim* was acquitted, and his forfeited Estate restored; the Guilt therefore of *his Actions* must lie at ANOTHER'S Door.

C H A P. XV.

Who began the War; the KING or the PARLIAMENT? And whether it can, without the greatest Impropriety and Injustice, be stiled a Rebellion.

Tindal's Cont.
p. 9.

" IT has been warmly disputed, on which Side
" the War first began. Whether the King or
" the Parliament were the Aggressor? He that
" believes the King's Concessions were a sufficient
" Guard against any Invasions of the national Li-
" berties, and that his Majesty really intended for
" the future to govern by Law, must condemn
" the Parliament for Requiring a farther Security,
" and deem the two Houses Authors of the War.
" On the other Hand, he that thinks the King
" had *unwillingly* consented to the *Acts* limiting
" his Prerogative, and would have revoked them
" whenever it had been in his Power (which Lord
" *Clarendon* himself very strongly insinuates to
" have been his Majesty's Intention) must throw
" the Blame of the War upon the King, for not
" Agreeing to a farther Limitation of his Prero-
" gative, at least for a Time."

" King

“ King Charles endeavoured to establish Principles which tended to subvert the *Constitution* of the Government ; as, that Parliaments owed their Being to the *Concession* of the Kings ; and that this *Concession* might be revoked, and the King might govern and tax his People without Parliament—That the King was above the Laws —That the Parliament had no Right to meddle in Affairs about which the King did not ask their Advice—That to complain of the Administration was want of Respect to the King—That the Parliament at most had but a Right to represent the *Grievances* to the King, which done, the Redress of them was to be patiently waited for at the King’s Hands——All these Principles, tis easy to perceive, tended to establish a *Despotick* Power. The King endeavoured upon all Occasions to instil these Principles into the Minds of his Subjects ; and to establish them upon Instances, taken here and there, of the Conduct of his Predecessors. He was seen, by his Actions, to draw from them the most extensive Consequences ; to fill the Kingdom with *Monopolies* ; to compel his Subjects to lend or give him Money ; to dissolve Parliaments for not allowing his Principles ; to imprison such Members as ventured to speak freely ; and even to declare publicly that he would call no more Parliaments. There was then NO MIDDLE WAY : His Pretensions were either to be *yielded* ; or *opposed* with open Force” —That is, there was no Choice left, but for the Nation to sit still, and to have the Chain of *Despotick* Government riveted upon its Neck ; or else, to take Arms, and stand up in Defence of its Constitution, its Liberties and Rights. To the glorious STAND, which was then made, we owe it, under GOD, that our Freedom is preserved :

Rapin, Vol. X.
pag. 7, 8.

served : and that we are not now a Nation of abject and helpless *Slaves* ; groaning under the Yoke of arbitrary Rule.

Welwood, p.
72, 73.

That Subjects greatly oppressed have a Right to take Arms and to stand upon their Defence, King *Charles* himself before all the World expressly avowed, " For he not only assisted the *Rochellers*, " taking Arms against their Sovereign, after the " War was actually begun ; but we have Reason " to believe he encouraged them to it at first. He " sent a Gentleman to the Duke of *Roban* soliciting him to the War. *Buckingham* by his Secretary " made many Speeches and sent many Messages " to the People of *Rochel* to excite them to Arms. " The King with his own Hand sent them two " Letters to encourage and confirm them in the " War they had undertaken ; promising to exert " the whole Power of his Kingdom for their Deliverance : and enters into a League with them, " in which is this Expression, *That the ROCHEL- " LERS may be deliver'd from the Oppressions they " groan under*"—Hence then it most clearly and undeniably follows from the King's own Principles and Conduct, *That the Groaning under great Oppressions, will justify Subjects in Taking Arms for Deliverance.*

To call this *War* therefore a *Rebellion*, is to call *Light*, *Darkness* : and is to load with Infamy those Characters which merit immortal Honour, and which ought ever, and will ever be remembered by Posterity with Veneration and Esteem. The Sense of the Nation, particularly of the very *House of Commons* which restored King *Charles II*, with Relation to this Matter, appears in their Treatment of *Lenthal*, a Member of that House : who, having rashly said, " *He that first drew the " Sword against the late King ; committed as great " an Offence as he that cut off his Head,*" was brought

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brought upon his Knees at the Bar of the House, Chilling-
and there severely reprimanded by the *Speaker*; *worth's Life*,
who declared it as the Sense of the House, "That ^{p. 301.}

"those who drew the Sword, did it to bring Delin-
quents to Punishment, and to vindicate their just
Liberties: And that Mr. Lenthal's Words are an
high Reflection upon the Justice and Proceedings
of the Lords and Commons in their Actings
before 1648."

Clarendon's, Nalson's and other Histories which call
this War a *Rebellion*, as also the Form of Prayer for
the 29th of May, it is carefully to be remember'd,
were composed in the Reign of Charles II, when
the *Regal Authority* was carried to its utmost
Height; and the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* and
Non-Resistance were preached violently throughout
the Nation: when all in *Holy Orders* were obliged
to subscribe and declare, *That it was not lawful*
upon ANY PRETENCE WHATSOEVER to take Arms
against the King: And when the two Universities,
the Fountains of Literature, had with the utmost
Solemnity affirm'd and decreed, That Kings de-
rived not their Power from the People but from
GOD, and that to Him ALONE they are account-
able: That it belongs not to Subjects to create or to
censure, but to honour and obey their SOVEREIGN;
who comes to be so, by a fundamental hereditary
Right of Succession, which no RELIGION, no LAW,
no FAULT, nor FORFEITURE can alter or diminish:
And that to assert it lawful to resist Kings, is im-
pious, seditious, scandalous, damnable, heretical, blas-
phemous and infamous to the Christian Religion. If
these Principles indeed were true, the War waged
by the Parliament was undoubtedly a Rebellion.
But the Wisdom of Providence quickly brought
the Nation to an Acknowledgement that they were
not true; and to an open, most solemn Rejection
and Disavowal of them. A great Part of the No-

Address from
Cambridge,
1681.

Oxford De-
cree, 1683.

bility, Bishops and Gentry of the Land invite a foreign Prince, WILLIAM Prince of Orange, to rescue it by *Force of Arms* from the Tyranny of King James, and promise to assist him. Oxford now thinks *that* lawful and meritorious, yea does the very Thing, which *five Years* before it had solemnly decreed impious, blasphemous, damnable and heretical: it invites the Prince *thither*; assures him it would declare for him, and offers him their Plate. And the Representative of the whole Kingdom, both Nobles and Commons, in an illustrious *Convention* approve the Taking Arms against their Sovereign when he became tyrannical: and declare, that by his Refusing to rule according to the Constitution, and going about to overthrow it, he had forfeited his Right to the Allegiance of his Subjects; and might lawfully, yea ought to be resisted and opposed.

For any therefore who *approve* of that *glorious Event* which we call the REVOLUTION, and of the Title of his present Majesty and his Family to the Throne (under whom we have enjoy'd the Blessing of a gentle Government, beyond what the happiest of our Ancestors could boast) for any such to call *this War* of the Parliament against King Charles a *Rebellion*, must argue extreme Ignorance, and shew them to be self-condemned.

C H A P. XVI.

Who were chargeable with Killing the KING?

“ T H E War being commenced it was
 “ waged at first with equal Success; but
 “ afterward with Disadvantage to the Parliament.
 “ Wherefore as the King had resolved to call in
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“ the *Irish* to his Assistance, the Parliament treat
 “ with the *Scots* for their Aid (a)——By the As-
 “ sistance of these, and the Change of the Gene-
 “ ral, the Scale is so turned to the Parliament’s
 “ Side, that the King daily loses Ground. Mean Tindal’s Cont.
 “ Time, a great and sudden Change is wrought p. 10, 11.
 “ by the *Republicans*, who still lay concealed. It
 “ is so managed by *Cromwel* and some others,
 “ that the Army is entirely new-modelled——
 “ Thus the *Independants* without discovering
 “ themselves, or their Designs, become at once
 “ almost Masters of the Army. The King, by
 “ the Loss of the Battle of *Naseby*, is unable to
 “ keep the Field, and throws himself at last into
 “ the *Scotish* Army before *Newark*, and is by
 “ them delivered up to the Parliament.

“ Nothing was at that Time farther from the
 “ Thoughts both of Parliament and *Scots*, than
 “ the Putting the King to Death. The *Indepen-*
 “ *dants*, mortal Enemies to the King, *Scots* and
 “ *Presbyterians*, were the Men who took away the
 “ King twice from the Parliament, by Means of Rapin, Vol.
 “ the Army, and cut off his Head, at the very XII. p. 347.
 “ Time the *Parliament* and *Scots* were heartily la-
 “ bouring to restore him (b).”

“ For at this Time Contests arose betwixt the
 “ Army and the Parliament. The Army refuse
 “ to disband and resolve to have a Share in
 “ settling the Government. They begin with
 “ seizing the King’s Person, whom they conduct
 “ to *Hampton-Court*. Here the King privately
 K 3 “ treats

(a) Note. The Parliament applied not to *Scotland* for Help, till the King had formed the Resolution of bringing over the bloody *Irish*, to compleat his Conquest of them and render himself absolute.

(b) It is scarce just, perhaps, to throw the Odium of this Fact upon any particular Sect or Religious Party then subsisting: it being done by a *Juncto* of Men (as appears from *Du Moulin*’s Testimony, pag. 146) acting from very different Principles and Designs.

Tindal's Cont.
p. 11.

Clarend. Vol.
V. p. 238.

“ treats with the *Scotish* Commissioners, and after-
 “ wards signs an Agreement with them, by which,
 “ on certain Conditions, they engage speedily to
 “ bring an Army into the Field, and in Conjun-
 “ tion with the *English Presbyterians* and *Royalists*,
 “ to free him from the *Independants*, and restore
 “ him to his just Rights. The King's Reliance
 “ on this Army and the Insurrections of his Party,
 “ prevents his Closing with the Parliament's Terms,
 “ and finishes his Ruin. For the *Scots* are routed,
 “ and the *Royalists* dispersed; after which the
 “ Army suddenly resolve to bring the King to a
 “ publick Trial, as the Author of the War. The
 “ Members that opposed this Resolution are by
 “ Violence kept from the House (in Number a-
 “ bout an Hundred) the rest erect an *High-Court*
 “ of Justice, by which the King is condemned and
 “ beheaded. *Ludlow* and others say, That the
 “ King, whilst at *Hampton-Court* and in Treaty
 “ with the *Scots*, received some private Overtures
 “ from the Army; but that *Cromwel* discovering
 “ the King's secret Negotiation with the *Scots*,
 “ and intercepting a Letter to the Queen of the
 “ King's Intention to destroy him, when it should
 “ be in his Power; instantly resolved to bring
 “ the King to the Scaffold. He found the Army
 “ very ready to second him, since they would
 “ have been cashiered without Fail, had the King
 “ and Parliament agreed upon any Terms.
 “ The *Scots*, Lord *Clarendon* bears them Wit-
 “ ness, no sooner heard of the Erection of an
 “ High Court of Justice, and of a Purpose of
 “ Trying the King for his Life, than they were
 “ all in a Flame. As well the Assembly of the
 “ Kirk as the Parliament, resolved to prosecute
 “ an high Expostulation with those of *England*,
 “ for the Breach of Faith and Promises which
 “ had been made, for the Safety of the King's
 “ Person.

“ Person. Commissioners were forthwith sent, *Clarend. Vol.*
 “ who in the Name of the Parliament of *Scotland V. p. 279—*
 “ declared, that they did all unanimously with ^{282.}
 “ one Voice, not one Member excepted, disclaim
 “ the least Knowledge of, or Occasion to the late
 “ Proceedings of the Army against the King.
 “ And that it might be manifest to the World,
 “ how much they did detest and abominate so
 “ horrid a Design against his Majesty’s Person (as
 “ was then carrying on) they did in the Name of
 “ the Parliament of *Scotland* declare their Dissent
 “ from the said Proceedings, and the Taking a-
 “ way of his Majesty’s Life: protesting that as
 “ they were altogether free from the same, so
 “ they might be free from all the Miseries and
 “ Calamities that might follow thereupon.”

“ It is evident the *Presbyterians* had no Hand *Rapin, Vol.*
 “ at all in the Sentence, nor ever dreamt of *XII. p. 585.*
 “ Bringing him to a Trial”——“ The *Presbyte-*
 “ *rians* and the Body of the City, *sais Bishop*
 “ *Burnet*, were much against it; and were every *Burnet’s Hist.*
 “ where fasting and praying for the King’s Prefer- *Tim. Vol. I.*
 “ vation——It was the Crime of but a few Hot- *p. 31.*
 “ headed *Enthusiasts*, or ambitious *Soldiers*. Many *Idem. Serm.*
 “ of the most considerable *Dissenters* did even *30th of Jan.*
 “ then, when it was not so safe to do it as it is *1680.*
 “ now, openly declare against it both in their Ser-
 “ mons and Writings. This is what in Justice
 “ cannot be denied them.”

In a Conference betwixt the two Houses Lord
Clarendon declared that the King (*Charles II*) hav-
 ing sent him in Embassy to the King of *Spain*,
 had expressly charged him to tell that Monarch,
 “ That the horrible Murder of his Father ought *Rapin, Vol.*
 “ not to be deemed an Act of the Parliament or *XIII. p. 246.*
 “ People of *England*, but of a *small Crew* of
 “ Wretches and Miscreants who had usurped the
 “ Sovereign Power and rendered themselves Mas-

- “ters of the Kingdom.” This was so agreeable to the *Commons* that they sent a Deputation with their Thanks to the King. Accordingly, the Letter which the Prince of *Wales* wrote, interceeding for the Release and Restoration of his Father, he directed not to the *Parliament*, “but to *Fairfax* and the Council of War, because he knew, (sais his Lordship) that the *Parliament* had no Authority—Yea it is most certain, that at the very Time when he was wickedly murdered in the Sight of the Sun, he had as great a Share in the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects in general, was as much belov’d, esteem’d and long’d for by the People in general of the three Nations, as any of his Predecessors had ever been, and that the Nation and *Parliament* were most innocent of his Death; which was the Act only of some few ambitious and bloody Men.”
- Hence then tis incontestable, that the Murther of the King was no *national Act*; consequently could incur no *national Guilt*; and therefore by no means requires a *national Humiliation* (much less an *annual one* nigh an Hundred Years after) to expiate and attone it.
- Archdeacon *Echard* himself sais that *Cromwel* first pull’d down the *Presbyterians*, and then destroy’d the King—And that almost all the *Presbyterian* Ministers of *London* and very many of the several Counties, and a few of the *Independants* themselves, declared against the Design in their Sermons from the Pulpit, in Conferences, in monitory Letters, Petitions, Protestations and publick Remonstrances: They earnestly beg’d, that contrary to so many *Imprecations* and *Oaths*; contrary to publick and private Faith confirmed by *Declarations* and *Promises*, &c. they would not defile their own Hands and the Kingdom with *Royal Blood*.”

“They

“ They preach’d furiously, fais Lord *Clarendon*. *Vol. don*, against all wicked Attempts and Violence *V. p. 251.*
 “ against the Person of the King : urging the Obligation of their *Covenant* for the Security of his Person.” And after the Fact was done,
 “ From the Time that the secluded Members (who were the Leaders of the *Presbyterian* Party) *Ibid. Vol. VI.*
 “ sat again with the Rump, there was good Evidence given that they would not leave that odious Murther unexamined and unpunish’d.”

But that which puts the Matter absolutely beyond Dispute, and shews the *Presbyterians* to be of all Men the least concerned in Taking away the King’s Life, is a very solemn and bold *Protest*, which a great Number of their Ministers in and about *London* had the Courage to publish, at the very Time when this Affair was transacting. In it “ they utterly disclaim any Consent or Approbation of the Conviction or Condemnation of the King. And declare, when we first engaged with the Parliament (which we did not till called thereunto) we did it with loyal Hearts and Affections toward the King and his Posterity : not intending the least Hurt to his Person, but to stop his Party from doing further Hurt to the Kingdom : not to bring his Majesty to Justice, as some now speak, but to put him into a better Capacity to do Justice : not to dethrone and destroy him, which we much fear is the ready Way to the Destruction of all his Kingdoms.

“ And as for the present Actings at *Westminster* we are wholly unsatisfied therein : because we conceive them to be so far from being warranted by sufficient Authority, that they tend to an actual Alteration, if not Subversion, of the fundamental Constitution and Government of this Kingdom — Yea we hold ourselves bound

Two Letters of the London Ministers published, Jan. 18, 1648.

“ bound in Duty to G O D, Religion, the King,
 “ Parliament and Kingdom, to profess before
 “ GOD, Angels and Men, that we verily believe
 “ that which is so much feared to be now in Agi-
 “ tation, the Taking away the Life of the King
 “ in the present Way of Trial, is not only not
 “ agreeable to any Word of G O D, the Princi-
 “ ples of the Protestant Religion (never yet stain’d
 “ with the least Drop of the Blood of a King) or
 “ the fundamental Constitution and Government of
 “ this Kingdom, but contrary to them, as also to
 “ the Oath of Allegiance and the solemn League
 “ and Covenant.

“ We do therefore according to that our Cove-
 “ nant, in the Name of the great G O D (to
 “ whom all must give a strict Account) warn
 “ and exhort all who belong to our respective
 “ Charges, or any way depend on our Ministry,
 “ or to whom we have administred the said Cove-
 “ nant, (that we may not by our Silence suffer
 “ them to run upon that highly provoking Sin of
 “ Perjury) to keep close to the Rules of Reli-
 “ gion, to the Laws and their Vows; and to
 “ pray that G O D would restrain the Violence of
 “ Men, that they may not dare to draw upon
 “ themselves and the Kingdom the Blood of their
 “ Sovereign.”

This solemn *Protest*, sign’d by about *Fifty* of
 the principal *Presbyterian* Ministers, was accom-
 panied with a very bold *Remonstrance* in a Letter
 to the *General and Council of War*, dated *Jan. 18,*
1648, and delivered to his Excellency by some of
 the Ministers, prefac’d thus—

*If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn
 unto Death, and those that are ready to be slain: if
 thou sayest, behold we know it not! Doth not he
 that pondereth the Heart consider it? And He that
 keepeth thy Soul, doth not He know it? And shall*
not

not He render to every Man according to his Works?
Prov. xxiv. 11, 12. They therein represent to
the General and his Council——“ That the Courſes
“ they were proceeding in were unwarrantable;
“ clearly againſt the direct Rules of GOD’s
“ Word, and ſuch as they ought to teſtify a
“ timely and godly Sorrow for——That though
“ the Parliament took up Arms for the Defence of
“ their Perſons and Privileges, and the Preſerva-
“ tion of Religion, Laws and Liberties, yet was
“ it not their Intention thereby to do Violence to
“ the Perſon of the King, or to divest him of
“ the Regal Authority, or what of Right belong-
“ eth to him——They put them in Mind of the
“ ſeveral Oaths and Covenants generally taken
“ throughout the Kingdom, whereby in the Pre-
“ ſence of Almighty GOD, *they promiſed and vow’d*
“ *according to the Duty of their Allegiance to main-*
“ *tain and defend with their Lives, Power and Ef-*
“ *tate, his Maſteſty’s Royal Perſon, Honour and Ef-*
“ *tate, and the Power and Privilege of Parliaments*
“ ——Inſtead therefore of joining and conſulting
“ with you” (the General and Council of War,
“ with whom they were invited to confer) we do
“ earneſtly intreat you, in the Name of our Lord
“ and Maſter *Jeſus Chriſt*, that you would con-
“ ſider the Evil of your preſent Ways, and turn
“ from them——You cannot but know how fully
“ and frequently GOD’s Word commandeth
“ and enforceth Obedience and Submiſſion to Ma-
“ giſtrates; forbidding and condemning, under
“ Pain of Damnation, ſuch Practices as theſe of
“ yours are: as likewise what ſevere Threatnings
“ and exemplary Judgments from GOD have
“ been denounced againſt and inflicted upon the
“ Contemnners and Oppoſers of this his Ordinance
“ ——But if you perſiſt in theſe Ways, Behold!
“ you

“ you have sinn’d against the Lord ; and be sure
 “ your Sin will find you out.”

These, with many other Admonitions and Warnings of like Nature (with great Hazard to themselves, and notwithstanding several *threatning Messages* had been sent them from that Quarter) they boldly delivered to the *General* and his *Officers* who had then usurp’d the supreme Power. Nothing therefore can be more unrighteous, nor more contrary to Truth, than to lay the King’s Death to the Charge of the *Presbyterians*.

Dr. *Lewis du Moulin*, History Professor in *Oxford*, who lived through those Times, sais, “ That
 “ no Party of Men, as a *religious* Body, were the
 “ Actors of this Tragedy, but it was the Con-
 Neal, Vol. III. “ trivance of an *Army* ; which was a Medly and
 p. 551. “ Collection of all Parties that were discontented ;
 “ some *Courtiers*, some *Presbyterians*, some *Episco-*
 “ *pals* ; few of any Sect, but most of none,
 “ or else of the Religion of *Hobbes* ; not to men-
 “ tion the *Papists*, who had the greatest Hand in
 “ it of all.

But the strongest and most authentick Testimony is *The Act of Attainder of the King’s Judges* at the Restoration of King *Charles II*, the Preamble to which sais—“ That the execrable Mur-
 “ ther of his Royal Father was committed by a
 “ Party of wretched Men, desperately wicked,
 “ who having first plotted and contrived the Ru-
 “ in of this excellent Monarchy, and of the true
 “ Protestant Religion, found it necessary to sub-
 “ vert the very Being and Constitution of *Parlia-*
 “ *ment*—And for the more easy effecting their
 “ Attempts on the Person of the King, they first
 “ seduced some Part of the then *Army* into a Compli-
 “ ance, and then kept the rest in Subjection partly
 “ for Hopes of Preferment, and chiefly for Fear of
 “ Losing their Employments and Arrears—They
 “ declared

“ declared against all Manner of Treaties with
 “ the Person of the King, while a Treaty with
 “ Him was subsisting; they remonstrated against
 “ the Parliament for their Proceedings; they se-
 “ cluded and imprisoned several Members of the
 “ *House of Commons*, and then there being left but
 “ a *small Number* of their own Creatures, they
 “ shelter’d themselves under the Name and Au-
 “ thority of a *Parliament*, and prepared an Ordi-
 “ nance for the Trial of his Majesty, which they
 “ pursued with Force and Cruelty till they mur-
 “ der’d the King, before the Gates of his own
 “ Palace. Thus (say they) the *Fanatick Rage* of
 “ a *few Miscreants* stands imputed by our Ad-
 “ versaries to the *whole Nation*; we therefore re-
 “ nounce, abominate, and protest against it—”

Hence it is plain the King’s Death is not to be
 charg’d upon any religious Party, or Sect of
 Christians, as such; nor upon the People of *Eng-
 land* assembled in Parliament; but upon the *Council
 of Officers and Agitators*; who having been
 deeply engaged in the Transactions of those
 Times, and fearing the King’s vindictive Temper
 and the Danger of Trusting to his Promises,
 thought, tis probable, their own Safety could no
 other Way be provided for but by this bold and
 illegal Stroke.

CHAP. XVII.

*The Book EIKON BASILIKE was
 not the Composure of King CHARLES.*

NOTHING, perhaps, has more contribu-
 ted to give a *wrong Idea* of the real Cha-
 racter of this Prince, than a Book which came
 forth immediately upon his Death, stiled *Eikon
 Basilike*,

Burnet's Hist.
Tim. Vol. I.
p. 54.

Basilike, or a *Portraiture of his sacred Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings*, said to be written with the King's own Hand. It passed through fifty Editions within twelve Months. No Book ever raised the King's Reputation so high as this. "The Piety of the Prayers made all People cry out against the Murder of a Prince who thought so seriously of all his Affairs in his secret Meditations before GOD." It is doubtless from the Meditations and Devotions of this Book, rather than from the prevailing Facts and Tenor of his Life, that the *Image* of this Prince is drawn, when such high Encomiums are given of his Piety and Religion; and he is celebrated as the *best of Christians*, as well as the *best of Kings*. But the Lustre which this famous Book has cast upon his Royal Character, there is the strongest Reason to believe, is all counterfeit and false. That his Majesty was not its Author, is now proved beyond all just and reasonable Doubt. And that this the Lord *Clarendon* very well knew, may be strongly presum'd from his perfect Silence about it. Had he known, or believ'd *this Book*, which so much tended to the Honour of the King, to be really his; it can never be supposed he would have taken no Notice at all of it.

Ibid. Vol. I.
p. 54, 55.

"I was bred up, saies Bishop *Burnet*, with an high Veneration of this Book: Being confirm'd in the Persuasion that it was the King's, I was not a little surpris'd when in the Year 1673, in which I had a great Share of Favour and free Conversation with the then Duke of *York*, afterwards King *James II.*, as he suffered me to talk very freely to him about Matters of Religion, and as I was urging him with something out of his *Father's Book*, he told me that *Book* was not of his *Father's* Writing, and that the Letter to the Prince of *Wales* was never brought to him. He said, Dr. *Gawden* writ

" it.

“ it. After the Restoration he (*Gawden*) brought
 “ the Duke of *Somerset* and the Earl of *Southampton*
 “ both to the King and to himself, who affirmed
 “ that they *knew* it was his Writing; and that it
 “ was carried down by the Earl of *Southampton*, and
 “ shew’d the King during the Treaty of *New-*
 “ *port*, who read it, and approved of it as con-
 “ taining his Sense of Things. Upon this he told
 “ me, that though *Sheldon* and the other Bishops
 “ opposed *Gawden*’s Promotion because he had
 “ taken the Covenant, yet the Merits of that Ser-
 “ vice carried it for him, notwithstanding their
 “ Opposition.”

But this Matter is set in the fullest Light and
 put beyond all Dispute by Dr. *Walker* (a), a very
 zealous Admirer and Friend of King *Charles*, and
 a reverend Divine of the Church of *England*,
 who in the most publick and solemn Manner, ap-
 pealing to GOD the Searcher of Hearts and A-
 venger of Falshood, affirms——“ That being a
 “ Friend and Intimate of Dr. *Gawden*’s, and liv-
 “ ing in his Family, Dr. *Gawden* whilst he was
 “ writing the Book and before it was finished,
 “ was pleased to acquaint him with the Design,
 “ and shew him the Heads of the several Chap-
 “ ters and what he had wrote upon them: after
 “ a Perusing them Dr. *Gawden* ask’d him his
 “ Opinion concerning it: he told him, he doubted
 “ not it would be for the King’s Reputation, but
 “ stuck at the Lawfulness of it; and modestly
 “ ask’d him, how he satisfied himself thus to im-
 “ pose upon the World? He answered, look
 “ upon the Title, *tis the Portraiture*, &c. and no
 “ Man draws his own Picture. Some Time after
 “ Dr. *Gawden* took him (Mr. *Walker*) with him
 “ to *London*, and to make a Visit to Dr. *Duppa*,
 “ Bishop of *Salisbury*, where he shew’d the Bi-
 “ shop

(a) In a Book entitled, *A true Account of the Author of EXOR-
 BACULUM.*

“shop what he had written (having before acquainted him with the Design): As they returned home Dr. *Gawden* communicated to Mr. *Walker* what had passed between him and the Bishop of *Salisbury*. He particularly told him, there were two Subjects more he wish'd he had thought on, viz. the Ordinance against the Common-Prayer, and the Denying his Majesty his Chaplains: Which at first he desired him to write two Chapters upon; but, before they parted, undertook to do it himself; and desired him to go on and finish what remained.

“After the King was murder'd, upon Mr. *Walker's* Asking the Doctor, Whether his Majesty had seen the Book? He told him he knew not certainly, but he had sent it to the King at the Isle of *Wight*, by the Marquis of *Hartford*; that the Duke of *York* knew of it, and had spoken of it to him (Dr. *Gawden*) as a seasonable and acceptable Service. That Mrs. *Gawden*, himself, (Mr. *Gifford*, who transcribed the Copy sent to the Isle of *Wight*) and others of the Family, always spoke of it, in his Presence and Absence, as his Book; being as much assured of it as they could be of any such Fact: That the Doctor delivered to him (*Walker*) with his own Hand the last Part, (after Part was printed, or at least in *Royston's*, the Printer's, Hands) giving him Caution with what Wariness to deliver it: And accordingly he deliver'd it, *Saturday December* the 23d, to one *Peacock*, who was instructed by what Hands he should deliver it to *Royston*: And in the same Way and by the Hands of Mr. *Peacock*, when the Impression was finish'd he receiv'd six Books as an Acknowledgement of his Service.”

There is also a long Narrative of Mrs. *Gawden*, written with her own Hand, expressly confirming this

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this Testimony of Dr. *Walker*, and a great many other Circumstances which put it out of all Doubt, that the *Eikon* was not the Composure of King *Charles*. The Testimony of the Earl of *Anglesey* shall conclude this Subject, which was wrote upon a blank Leaf of the *Eikon* as follows.

Memorandum.

“ King *Charles* II and the Duke of *York* did
“ both (in the last Sessions of Parliament, 1675,
“ when I shew’d them in the Lord’s House the
“ written Copy of this Book *Eikon Basilike*, where-
“ in are some Corrections and Alterations written
“ with the late King *Charles* I’s own Hand) assure
“ me that this was none of the said King’s Com-
“ piling, but made by Dr. *Gawden*, Bishop of
“ *Exeter*: Which I here insert for the undeceiving
“ others in this Point, by Attesting so much under
“ my Hand.

ANGLESEY.

CHAP. XVIII.

*A Summary View of King CHARLES’s
Character and Reign by a very great States-
man.*

IT may not be amiss, as a kind of Recapitula-
tion, here to present the Reader with a succinct
View of this Reign, as it is drawn up by a great
Minister of State, a Member of the establish’d
Church, and a Person of distinguish’d Name both
in the political and learned World; in the *Short
History of a Standing Army*.

L

“ King

“ King CHARLES was a great *Bigot*, which
 “ made him the Darling of the *Clergy*: but hav-
 “ ing no great Reach of his own, and being go-
 “ verned by the *Priests*, who have been always
 “ unfortunate when they meddled with Politicks,
 “ with a true *ecclesiastical* Fury he drove on to the
 “ Destruction of all the Liberties of *England*.
 “ This King’s whole Reign was one continued Act
 “ against the Laws. He dissolved his first Par-
 “ liament for presuming to enquire into his Fa-
 “ ther’s Death, though he lost a great Sum of
 “ Money by it, which they had voted him. He
 “ enter’d at the same Time into a War with *France*
 “ and *Spain*, upon the private Piques of *Bucking-*
 “ *ham*, and managed them to the eternal Dishon-
 “ our and Reproach of the *English* Nation; wit-
 “ ness the ridiculous Enterprises upon *Cadiz* and
 “ the Isle of *Rbee*. He delivered *Penington’s*
 “ Fleet into the *French* Hands, betrayed the *Ro-*
 “ *chellers*, and suffered the Protestant Interest in
 “ *France* to be quite extirpated. He raised *Loans*
 “ and *Excise*, *Coat* and *Conduct-Money*, *Tonnage*
 “ and *Poundage*, *Knighthood* and *Ship-Money* with-
 “ out Authority of Parliament: imposed new
 “ Oaths on the Subjects to discover the Value of
 “ their Estates: imprisoned great Numbers of the
 “ most considerable Gentry and Merchants for not
 “ Paying his *arbitrary* Taxes: Some he sent be-
 “ yond-sea, and the poorer Sort he press’d for
 “ Soldiers, whom he kept on *Free Quarters* and
 “ executed *martial Law*. He granted *Monopolies*
 “ without Number, and broke the Bounds of the
 “ *Forests*. He created *Arbitrary Courts*, and en-
 “ larged others; as the *High-Commission* Court,
 “ *Star-Chamber* Court, *Court of Honour*, *Court of*
 “ *Requests*, &c. and unspeakable Oppressions were
 “ committed in them, even to Men of the first
 “ Quality.

“ Quality. He commanded the Earl of *Bristol*,
 “ and Bishop of *Lincoln* not to come to Par-
 “ liament: committed and prosecuted a great
 “ many of the most eminent Members of the
 “ *House of Commons*, for what they did there;
 “ some for no Cause at all; and would not let
 “ them have the Benefit of the *Habeas Corpus*:
 “ suspended and confined Archbishop *Abbot*, be-
 “ cause he would not license a Sermon that assert-
 “ ed *Despotick* Power, whatever other Cause was
 “ pretended. He suspended the Bishop of *Glou-*
 “ *cester* for refusing to swear never to consent to
 “ alter the Government of the Church. He sup-
 “ ported all his arbitrary Ministers against the Par-
 “ liament; telling them, *he wonder'd at the foolish*
 “ *Impudence of any one to think he would part with*
 “ *the meanest of his Servants upon their Account.*
 “ And indeed in his *Speeches*, or rather *Menaces*,
 “ he treated them like his *Footmen*, calling them
 “ *undutiful, seditious and Vipers.*

“ He brought unheard of *Innovations* into the
 “ Church; prefer'd Men of *Despotick* Principles
 “ and inclinable to *Popery*; especially those Fire-
 “ brands, *Laud, Montague and Manwaring*: One
 “ of whom had been complained of in Parliament,
 “ another impeached for Advancing *Popery*, and
 “ the third condemn'd in the *House of Lords*. He
 “ dispensed with the Laws against *Papists*, and
 “ both encourag'd and prefer'd them. He called
 “ no Parliament for twelve Years together, and
 “ in that Time governed as arbitrary as the *Grand*
 “ *Signior*. He abetted the *Irish Massacre*, as ap-
 “ pears by their producing a *Commission* under the
 “ great Seal of *Scotland*, by the Letter of *Charles*
 “ II in the Favour of the Marquis of *Antrim*,
 “ by stopping the Succors which the Parliament
 “ sent to reduce the *Rebels* six Months under the

" Walls of *Chester*, by his Entering into a Treaty
 " with them after he had engaged his Faith to
 " the Parliament to the Contrary, and bringing
 " over many Thousands of them to fight against
 " his People. It is endless to enumerate all the
 " Oppressions of his Reign; but having no Army
 " to support him, his Tyranny was precarious and
 " at last his Ruin. Though he extorted great
 " Sums of Money from his People, yet it was
 " with so much Difficulty, that it did him little
 " Good. Besides he spent so much in foolish
 " Wars and Expeditions, that he was always be-
 " hind Hand: Yet he often attempted to raise an
 " Army.

" Under Pretence of the *Spanish* and *French*
 " War, he levied many Thousand Men, who
 " robb'd and destroy'd wherever they came. But
 " being unsuccessful in his Wars Abroad, and
 " press'd by the Clamours of the People at Home,
 " he was forced to disband them. In 1627 he
 " sent over 30,000 Pounds to raise 3000 *German*
 " Horse, to force his illegal Taxes; but this Mat-
 " ter taking Wind, and being examined by the
 " Parliament, Orders were sent to countermand
 " them.

" In the 15th Year of his Reign, he gave a
 " Commission to *Strafford* to raise 8000 *Irish* to
 " be brought into *England*; but before they could
 " get hither, the *Scots* were in Arms for the like
 " Oppressions, and marched into *Northumberland*,
 " which forcing him to call a *Parliament* prevent-
 " ed that Design, and so that Army was disband-
 " ed. Soon after he raised an Army in *England*
 " to oppose the *Scots*, and tamper'd with them to
 " march to *London* and dissolve the Parliament.
 " But this Army being composed for the most
 " Part of the *Militia*, and the Matter being com-
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“ municated to the House, who immediately fell
“ upon the Officers who were Members, *Ashburn-*
“ *ham, Wilmot, Pollard, &c.* the Design came to
“ Nothing. After this there was a *Pacification*
“ between the *King* and the *Scots*, and in Pursu-
“ ance of it both Armies were disbanded.

“ Then He went to *Scotland*, and endeavour'd
“ to prevail with them to invade *England*. But
“ that not doing, he sent a Message to the Par-
“ liament, desiring their Concurrence in the Rais-
“ ing 3000 *Irish* to be sent to the King of *Spain*,
“ to which the Parliament refused to consent,
“ believing he would make another Use of
“ them.

“ When he returned to *London*, he pick'd 3 or
“ 400 dissolute Fellows out of the *Taverns, Gam-*
“ *ing* and *Brothel* Houses, kept a Table for them,
“ and with this goodly Guard, all arm'd, he en-
“ ter'd the *House of Commons*, sat down in the
“ Speaker's Chair, demanding the Delivery of
“ *Five Members*: But the Citizens coming down
“ by Land and Water with Muskets on their
“ Shoulders, to defend the Parliament, he at-
“ tempted no further. This so enraged the House,
“ that they chose a Guard to defend themselves
“ against future Insults: And the King soon after
“ left *London*.

“ Some Time before this began the *Irish* Re-
“ bellion; where the *Irish* pretended the King's
“ Authority, and shew'd the *Great Seal* to justi-
“ fy themselves; which, whether true or false,
“ rais'd such a Jealousy in the People that he was
“ forced to consent to leave the Management of
“ that War to the Parliament — Then the Civil
“ Wars broke out between him and his People,
“ in which many bloody Battles were fought,
“ At last by the Fate of War the King became a

" Prisoner ; and the Parliament treated with him
 " while in that Condition. They voted at the
 " same Time that some Part of the Army should
 " be disbanded, and others sent to *Ireland* to re-
 " duce that Kingdom. Upon which the Army
 " chose *Agitators* among themselves, who pre-
 " sented a Petition to both Houses, that they
 " would proceed to settle the Affairs of the
 " Kingdom ; and declare that no Part of the
 " Army should be disbanded till that was done.
 " But finding their Petition was rejected, they
 " sent and seized the King's Person from the Par-
 " liament's Commissioners, drew up a Charge of
 " *High Treason* against eleven *Principal Members*,
 " for Endeavouring to disband the Army, and
 " enter'd into a private Treaty with the King :
 " But he not complying with their Demands,
 " they seized *London* ; and notwithstanding the
 " *Parliament* had voted the King's *Concessions* a
 " good Ground for a future *Settlement*, they re-
 " solved to put him to Death ; and in Order
 " thereto *purged* the House, as they called it ;
 " that is, placed Guards upon them, and exclud-
 " ed all Members that were for Agreeing with
 " the King."

So that, as the judicious Historian, often before
 Neal, Vol. III. quoted, observes, " King *Charles* died by the
 p. 547. " Hands of Violence, or by the *military Sword*,

" assumed and managed in an arbitrary Manner
 " by a few desperate Officers of the Army, and
 " their Dependants, of sundry Denominations as
 " to Religion, without any Regard to the antient
 " Constitution of their Country, or the funda-
 " mental Laws of Society."

With Relation to his Character, it may be fur-
 ther observed from *Coke*, his Apologist, " That
 " after he became King, he became more and
 " more

" more wilful, and gave himself to be more go- Coke *Det. &c.*
 " vern'd by Favourites than before. And these *p. 196, 197.*
 " two Things were observable in this Prince, that
 " when any advised him against his Will, he
 " would never ask it after : And that in all his
 " Reign, as well in Prosperity as in Adversity,
 " he would never own any one of his Irregulari-
 " ties to be so, but justified them all to his Death
 " —He was unaffable in his Conversation, and
 " Approaches to him very difficult ; and those
 " with such strain'd Submissions, as were never
 " required by any of his Predecessors. As his
 " Actions were without Counsel, sudden and in-
 " considerate ; so were his Resolutions as variable
 " and uncertain, so that oftentimes He would
 " change them the same Day. He was constant *Ibid. Reign of*
 " only in his Affections to the Queen——King *James I. p.*
 " James I, his Father, was usually by his Flatter- *130.*
 " ers stiled the SOLOMON of the Age, but
 " never were two Kings more unlike, saith that
 " learned Gentleman, unless it were in their Sons,
 " Charles and Rehoboam — The Sincerity of his *Ibid. Reign of*
 " Promises and Declarations were suspected by *Charles I. p.*
 " his Friends as well as Enemies :” So that he *197.*
 fell a Sacrifice to his Arbitrary Principles, the
 best Friends of the *Constitution* being afraid to
 trust him.

As to his Character I shall only add from Bi-
 shop Burnet——“ He loved high and rough
 “ Measures, but had neither the Skill to conduct
 “ them ; nor the Height of Genius to manage
 “ them. He hated all that offered prudent and *Burnet's Hist.*
 “ moderate Counsels : He thought it flowed from *Tim. Vol. I.*
 “ a Meaness of Spirit——and even when he saw *p. 30.*
 “ it was necessary to follow such Advices, yet he
 “ hated those who gave them——His Reign both
 “ in Peace and War, was a continual Series of

Burnet's Hist.
Tim. Vol. I.
p. 50.

" Errors : So that it does not appear that he had
" a true Judgment of Things : He was out of
" Measure set on following his Humour, but un-
" reasonably feeble to those whom he trusted,
" chiefly to the Queen. He had too high a No-
" tion of the Regal Power, and thought that
" every Opposition to it was Rebellion. He
" minded little Things too much ; and was more
" concerned in the Drawing of a Paper, than in
" Fighting a Battle. He had a firm Aversion
" to Popery : but was much inclined to a middle
" Way, between Protestants and Papists, by
" which he lost the one without gaining the other.
" At his Death, he shew'd a calm and composed
" Firmness, which amazed all People ; and that
" so much the more, because it was not natural
" to him. It was imputed to a very extraordina-
" ry Measure of supernatural Assistance. He
" went through his many Indignities with true
" Greatness ; without Disorder or any Sort of
" Affectation. Thus he died greater than he had
" lived."

Whitelock's
Mem. p. 369.

But *Whitelock's* Account (the most authentic, to be sure, extant) gives no great Idea of the King's *Firmness* and *Composure* : From the *minute History* he hath left of his Discourse and Behaviour on the Scaffold ; his Thoughts seem to have been pretty much unsettled and discomposed.

CHAP,

C H A P. XIX.

The Principles on which the REVOLUTION was effected, and upon which alone our excellent Constitution of a limited Monarchy stands.

LET us hear the Judgment of one of the most illustrious *Conventions* of our States; and what the Reasonings and Grounds were, upon which our great *Senators* and *Lawyers* proceeded at the ever memorable REVOLUTION. In that famous Conference betwixt both Houses 1689, it was affirmed by some of the wisest Statesmen and Patriots of the Age — “ That King James II “ by *Going about to subvert the Constitution*, had “ thereby renounc’d to be a King according to Echard, pag. “ *the Constitution*, by avowing to govern by a ¹¹⁴⁴ “ *Despotick* Power, unknown to the Constitution “ and inconsistent with it. That he had renounc’d to “ be a King according to Law; such a King as he “ swore to be at his Coronation; such a King to “ whom the Allegiance of an *Englishman* is due; and “ had set up another kind of Dominion, which “ was to all Intents an *Abdication* or *Abandoning* “ his *legal Title*, as fully as if it had been done “ by exprefs Words. So Lord President Somers.”

To the same Purpose the Lord Chief Justice Holt. “ The Government and Magistracy is “ under a Trust; and any Acting contrary to that Ibid. “ Trust, is Renouncing of the Trust, though it “ be not a Renouncing by a formal Deed. For “ it is a plain Declaration by Act and Deed, “ though not in Writing, that he who has the
I “ Trust

Echard, p.
1145.

Ibid.

“ Trust acting contrary is a *Disclaimer* of the
“ Trust; especially if his Actings be such as are
“ inconsistent with and subversive of this Trust.

“ For a KING to say he will not govern ac-
“ cording to Law, said the Earl of Nottingham,
“ and for a KING to act wholly contrary to
“ Law and to do that which would *subvert the*
“ *Constitution*, is I think the same Thing.

“ Now had King James II, as was farther
“ urg’d by another honourable Person, Sir Geo.
“ Treby, come hither into the Assembly of Lords
“ and Commons, and express’d himself in Writ-
“ ing or Words to this Purpose—I was born
“ Heir to the Crown of England, which is a Go-
“ vernment limited by Laws made in full Parliament
“ by King, Nobles and Commonalty; and upon the
“ Death of my last Predecessor I am in Possession of
“ the Throne: and now I find I cannot make Laws
“ without the Consent of Lords and Commons in
“ Parliament; I cannot suspend Laws that have
“ been so made, without the Consent of my People;
“ this indeed is the Title of Kingship I hold by ori-
“ ginal Contract and the fundamental Constitution
“ of the Government, and my Succession to and Pos-
“ session of the Crown, on these Terms, is Part of
“ that Contract; this Part of the Contract I am
“ weary of; I do renounce it; I will not be obliged
“ to observe it; nay, I will not execute the Laws
“ that have been made, nor suffer others to be made,
“ as my People shall desire, for their Security in Re-
“ ligion, Liberty and Property, which are the two
“ main Points of the Kingly Office in this Nation
“ —I say suppose He had thus expressed him-
“ self, doubtless this had been a plain Renouncing
“ that legal regular Title which came to him
“ by Descent. If then by particular Acts he
“ has declared as much or more than these Words

“ can amount to, then he hath thereby declared
“ his Will to *renounce* the Government.”

These were the Reasonings, the Principles and Maxims on which the wise and great Patriots, the Representatives of the Nation, proceeded in settling the Government at the late happy *Revolution*: Upon those they declared that King *James II* had violated the *fundamental Laws* of this Kingdom, and broken the *original Contract*; and had thereby forfeited his own personal Right, and that therefore the Throne was become vacant. That is, He ceased to be their *King*, and they might lawfully levy War against him, as an Enemy to the Constitution.

That our wise Ancestors in antient Times had the same Judgment of this Matter, is seen in the Answer of the Lords to King *Richard II*. “ We
“ have an *antient CONSTITUTION*, say
“ they, and not very long since put in Execution;
“ That if the King through evil Council, Obstinacy, Contempt of his Subjects, or by any other irregular Courses, should alienate himself
“ from his People, and refuse to govern by the
“ Laws and Statutes of the Realm; and abandon
“ himself to his *arbitrary Will*; that from that
“ Time it should be lawful for his People by their
“ full and free Consent, to *Depose* that King from
“ his Throne, and set upon it another of the
“ Royal Family.” Echard, p. 165.

Let these Things be now applied to the Reign of *Charles I*, and they will put beyond all Doubt the Lawfulness, the Honour and the Necessity of the War which his numberless *tyrannical* and *illegal* Proceedings compelled his Parliament to levy against him. Upon a just and fair Comparison the *illegal Acts* of King *James II*, and his Violations of the fundamental Rights and Constitution

tion of this Realm will not be found, perhaps, by far, either so many, or so flagrant, as those of his *Royal Father*. The same Principles therefore which justify the *Deposing* by Force of Arms, and Setting aside the one, will justify the Endeavour to do the same by the other.

As for the Taking away the King's Life, this was done by an illegal Court, and in a violent and unjust Manner, and is therefore to be condemned. But that the King was a very great DELINQUENT, is a Thing not to be disputed by any reasonable Person: And that there is a Right in all Governments to punish *Delinquents*, of what Rank soever, is equally clear. Had it therefore been left to the Two Houses of Parliament to judge of the King's *Delinquency*, and to proceed against him as they thought his Misconduct deserved, all had been Right: For the *two Houses* are as essential and fundamental a Part of the Legislature of these Realms, as the *Sovereign* Himself.

Dr. Lombard,
p. 172.

What *Title* or *Character* this unhappy Prince deserved, and which Posterity will doubtless give him, we may learn from a late learned and ingenious Author in his *Essay on Assassinations*: " By
" a *Tyrant*, he observes, the Antients understood
" one that broke in upon the fundamental Consti-
" tution of a State, and who went about to
" change a free Government into an absolute
" Monarchy. The *Tyrants* they thought it law-
" ful to kill, were those who went about to
" change a State of Liberty and *Obedience to*
" *Laws*, into a State of Slavery and *Obedience to*
" *Men*: into a State, in which, as *Brutus* and
" *Machiavell* express it, M E N have more Pow-
" er than the L A W S. This was the Case of
" *Cæsar*, of *Phalaris*, *Clearchus*, and all the pet-

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“ty Tyrants of Sicily and Greece:” And that this was too apparently the Case of *Charles I.*, 'tis presumed, there is no impartial Reader that is not fully convinc'd.

Now then to conclude. Having from a Series of most clear and incontestable Facts, and from the Suffrage of the most authentick Historians of those Times, attempted an *Idea of the Character and Reign of King CHARLES I.*; I only add—Will it not extremely *astonish* Posterity to find the Memory of this Prince still celebrated in the *English Nation* with the highest Honours and Applause! To see a Tribute of *yearly Incense* offered up to his Name in the most holy Places of the Kingdom: To hear him almost adored as a *royal and blessed MARTYR*; extolled far above all the Princes that ever filled the *British Throne*; pronounced not the *best of Kings* only, but the most excellent and *best of Men*; and a Parallel often run betwixt *his Sufferings* and the *Son of GOD's*; yea, his Treatment represented as in some Respects more barbarous iniquitous and vile than that of our *blessed LORD*!

Strange! That the *English Nation* who glory in their *Constitution* as a limited Monarchy, who have always been extremely jealous of any Incroachments on it, and who dethron'd by Force of Arms and banish'd the *Son* for less Breaches of the Constitution than were made by this *unhappy Father*, should yet stigmatise that *just War*, of the Parliament with *Charles I.* with the odious Name of a REBELLION: A War by which alone their expiring Liberties were preserved, and their beloved CONSTITUTION snatch'd from the cruel Arm of OPPRESSIVE and ARBITRARY Power.

If *this War* was a *Rebellion*, so surely was *that* too which drove King *James* from his Dominions, and made Way for *the REVOLUTION* and the happy

py *Succession* under which we are now placed. The War against *Charles I.* it is carefully to be noted, was waged by the PARLIAMENT of England, legally assembled; an *original* and *essential* Part of the Legislature, Sharers in the *Supreme Power* together with *the KING*: But the War against *James II* was waged by a *foreign Prince*, encouraged and invited over only by particular Subjects. If the former therefore was a *great Rebellion*, the latter surely was a *much greater*. To call it therefore by *this Name* is to reproach the REVOLUTION; to strike at the Foundation of our present happy Settlement; and to shake the Right of his sacred Majesty King GEORGE to his Throne: whom GOD long preserve; a Blessing to this, and a bright Pattern of Justice and Tendernefs of his People's Rights, to distant future Ages.—And of his illustrious House may there never want a Branch to be a Terror and a Scourge to Tyrants, and the Support of our Constitution, till Time itself shall end.

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

PREFACE, Page x, Line 24, for *on*, r. *no*. P. 1, l. ult. for *apparent*, r. *appearing*. P. 2, l. 32, r. (*of the Sensual Kind*) and p. 87, l. 19, r. (*very justly and loudly*) both included in Parenthesis. P. 4, l. 31, for *Poltrons*, r. *Poltron*. P. 15, l. 34, for *to*, r. *by*. P. 41, l. 5, add *William Stroud*. P. 47, l. 3, r. *with*. P. 115, l. 15, dele *Rebels*. P. 155, l. 7, r. *these*.

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